

R. Townley Parker.
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MAGELLAN
and the AGE of DISCOVERY



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Reginald Arthur Tattou.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PORTUGUESE,

During the REIGN of

EMMANUEL :

CONTAINING

All their DISCOVERIES, from the Coast
of AFRICK to the farthest Parts of CHINA ;
their Battles by Sea and Land, their Sieges, and
other memorable Exploits : With a Descrip-
tion of those Countries, and a particular Ac-
count of the Religion, Government, and Cus-
toms of the Natives.

Including also,

Their DISCOVERY of the BRAZILS,

AND

Their WARS with the MOORS.

Written originally in Latin

By JEROME OSORIO, Bishop of Sylves.

Now first translated into English

By JAMES GIBBS.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.

MDCCLII.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PORTUGUESE, &c.

IN TWELVE BOOKS.

BOOK VII.

ALBUQUERQUE being resolved to go to Ormuz, went to sea with a fleet of twenty-three ships, with two thousand Portuguese aboard, besides several Indian auxiliaries. But when he reached Baticale, Timoia the pyrate, who had acknowledged Emmanuel for his sovereign, came to him, and endeavoured to dissuade him from this expedition. ‘ I am surpris’d, (said he) that a commander of your experience should choose to carry your arms to such a distance with so much danger, and so little prospect of advantage, when you may employ them here in the neighbourhood with less risque, and much greater probability of acquiring honour and profit. Besides, is it not the highest imprudence to leave an enemy behind you, ready to fall upon the Portuguese in India, when destitute of assistance? If you consider the situation and wealth of Goa, and its nearness to your settlements, you ought certainly to attack that place before you embark in any other expedition. The prince Zabaim is an inveterate enemy to the Portuguese. He is at present fitting out twenty men of war, has a thousand Turks in his pay,

‘ and several other foreign troops: with these forces he
 ‘ intends to fall upon, and destroy you entirely. It
 ‘ will therefore be highly conducive to your safety,
 ‘ and redound greatly to your honour, if you imme-
 ‘ diately attack Goa, and thus prevent the enemy’s
 ‘ designs from being put into execution. Moreover,
 ‘ you have at present an excellent opportunity, for Za-
 ‘ baim, since the decease of his father, has been en-
 ‘ gaged in war with several tributary princes on the
 ‘ continent, who have revolted from him, and he has
 ‘ therefore been obliged to send over great part of his
 ‘ forces to reduce the revolters to obedience.’ Timoia
 at the same time declared he would give the Portu-
 guese all the assistance in his power, and assured them
 he would fight for the honour of Emmanuel with the
 utmost cheerfulness. Albuquerque being influenced by
 these arguments, called a council of his officers, who
 unanimously agreed to follow the advice of Timoia.
 Albuquerque sent Timoia to attack a strong fort in the
 town of Zintacora, whilst he and his fleet sailed for
 Goa: but scarce had he reached that place when Ti-
 moia arrived with the news of his having destroyed the
 fort. The pyrate’s fleet consisted of fourteen large ships,
 compleatly furnished with all manner of warlike stores.

The city of Goa is situated on the point of an island,
 called Ticuarin, formed by a river running into the
 sea in two different branches. This island is about
 twenty-three miles in compass. The city is fortified
 with walls and towers, which are furnished with great
 abundance of warlike engines. The buildings are
 magnificent; the air and temperature of the climate is
 agreeable; and the harbours are so convenient, that
 many merchants settled here, and it was then one of
 the most celebrated marts in India. The inhabitants
 were men of a warlike genius; and Zabaïam follow-
 ing his father’s example, greatly encouraged the exer-
 cise of arms, and generally kept in his pay many fo-
 reign soldiers. The island is able to maintain a much
 greater number of people than could be imagined from
 its

its extent, being covered with fruitful trees, and abounding in all sorts of corn. There are likewise bred here all kinds of cattle, and there is great plenty of excellent water. There are five entrances to the island; at each of these are placed guards to examine every one who enters into the island; writing down his name, as well as that of his father and country, together with the description of his person. The religion of the people is Mahometanism. Their temples are grand and magnificent; and there is handsome provision made for their priests. It happened, however, afterwards, when this island came into the possession of our people, as a Portuguese was digging the foundation of a house, that he found a brazen crucifix, which gives us some reason to conclude, that this island was formerly inhabited by Christians.

Albuquerque first sent Antony Norhona, Simon Andrade, and Simon Martin, whose ships being lowest in the deck, could be rowed with oars where the water was shallow. He ordered them to attack a tower which might have been very hurtful to our people. With these he joined likewise George Fogoço, Hieronym Teixir, George Sylveire, John Nono, and Garcia Soufa, in their long boats, well manned and armed. He gave strict orders to the pilot of the fleet, to sound the depth of the water, to know if the large ships could enter the harbour with safety. He, at the same time, ordered Timoia to attack another strong fort of the enemy situate on the continent, at a small distance from the island. They accordingly executed their orders with great spirit and expedition: some of the soldiers in the garrisons were killed, and the rest driven to flight. The forts being taken, were destroyed by fire. They then proceeded to Pangin, a small town of the island, defended by a handful of men. The enemy, as soon as they saw our people, hastened to oppose their landing. A sharp rencounter ensued, but the enemy was at last routed; and Pangin being taken, was burnt. Next day Albuquerque being informed, that the water

was of a proper depth, determined to send his large ships to join Norhona, but being unable to sail for want of wind, he therefore dispatched some of his lesser ships, and went himself in a galley.

Here some Arabians came to Albuquerque, in a suppliant manner. They said they were of the kingdom of Cambaya, and had come to Goa on the account of trade; and entreated they might be received into his protection, as friends and suppliants: he accordingly granted their request. He then began to ask them several questions concerning the present state and situation of the city of Goa. They replied, that the citizens were in the utmost consternation: that the leading men were divided into two parties, one was of opinion, considering the small number of their forces, that the city ought to be surrendered, the other was for making a stout resistance. Albuquerque sent these men as deputies to the principal inhabitants, to acquaint them, that he came not to destroy the people of Goa, but to deliver them from oppression, and to make them taste the sweets of a mild government: if they would therefore surrender themselves, he promised to be the guardian of their liberty; and assured them they should be governed by their own laws, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion: that he would likewise ease them of a third of the tribute they used to pay to Zabaim, on condition they would deliver up all the soldiers in the city. The citizens accepted of these terms, and Albuquerque entered Goa the following day, being the 16th of February 1510. In the name of his royal master he took possession of the city, as well as the fort and all the publick magazines. The citizens took the oaths of allegiance to Emmanuel, obliging themselves to be ever loyal and faithful to his majesty. He found above forty pieces of large cannon on the walls and in the magazines, besides a vast number of a less size. There were, likewise, surprising heaps of bullets, an immense quantity of powder, and great plenty of all manner of warlike stores. In their ship-dock there were above forty men of war, besides

besides sixteen pinnaces, and many other vessels. Zabaim's stables were stocked with a considerable number of fine horses from Persia and Arabia; and, in short, the whole city was furnished plentifully with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life.

Albuquerque being resolved to fix his winter quarters in this place, appointed guards at all the entrances to the city: he assigned the care of these to Antony Norhona, made Jasper Payva governor of the fort, and constituted Francis Corvinel agent for the Portuguese affairs. He appointed likewise magistrates to regulate the prices of provisions, and to take care of the publick buildings and streets: these were to have frequent meetings, in order to settle every thing relating to the advantage of the community. In fine, he omitted nothing which might tend to establish a wise and peaceable government. There were several Arabians and others, who at that time farmed the taxes arising from imported goods; these he allowed still to enjoy that benefit. He performed all his promises with the greatest honour, and endeavoured to behave in such a manner on all occasions, as to merit the favour and esteem of every person. He took up his residence in Zabaim's palace, where there were left several women who belonged to the king's seraglio; these he treated with the utmost civility, and took care they should receive no insult from the soldiery. He sent Jasper Chanoc, as a deputy to the kings of Narfingua and Vengapour, to solicit their friendship. When this gentleman came to Bisnagor, the great and opulent metropolis of Narfingua, he was received by the king with the highest marks of distinction. There happened to be at this time some persons from the king of Ormuz, who had come to transact business in the city of Goa. Albuquerque entertained them in the most honourable manner; and, at their departure, gave them many considerable presents. He also treated with the same respect the deputies of Ismael, sopheri of Persia, who had likewise come to settle some

affairs with king Zabaim. He at the same time sent Roderick Gomeze Carvalho, ambassador to Ismael; but this gentleman, when at Ormuz, was poisoned by Cojetar, to prevent his going to the Persian monarch. The viceroy next fortified the city, and made all the unfinished ships fit for service: he settled the publick revenues, and appointed Timoia to be the general overseer. Whilst Albuquerque was thus settling the affairs of Goa, he was alarmed by an affair which gave him a deal of uneasiness. Some of the Portuguese nobility begun to raise dissensions against him. They privately condemned his conduct, and ridiculed his whole behaviour; and either out of envy or rashness, reviled him with the most scurrilous language. By degrees they dared to talk more openly, and entreated him not to draw the Portuguese into such manifest danger. They said the city being so large, and surrounded by so many enemies, could not be defended: that they had but a few troops, and in the winter they could not have any reinforcements. Whilst on the other hand, the strength of Zabaim was formidable, and all the neighbouring nations exasperated against the Portuguese: that the fidelity of the citizens of Goa was not to be depended upon, having surrendered themselves not of their own accord, but from necessity. It was therefore their opinion, that the city ought to be abandoned; and that in order to gratify the humour of one ambitious man, the Portuguese ought by no means to be given up to be slaughtered by the most cruel enemies. By these and such like insinuations there was a party, amounting to nine hundred Portuguese, formed against Albuquerque. However, he behaved in this affair with great resolution; for having heard that these malecontents were one night assembled in a certain house, he broke in upon them, seized the leaders, and threw them into prison. They then promised obedience, and acknowledged their faults. The viceroy standing in need of their assistance, accepted of their submission, and restored them to liberty. However, he afterwards dismissed

dismissed some of the most mutinous, lest if they had remained they might have done him more damage than they could possibly by their departure.

These dissensions amongst the Portuguese did not escape the knowledge of the citizens, and Zabaim by his spies received likewise intelligence of every particular. One of those princes who were attached to the Portuguese, sent a letter to Albuquerque, informing him, that Zabaim having made peace with his tributary princes, had levied a considerable army, besides several auxiliaries, and was now laying waste the cities of the Portuguese allies. Albuquerque would have carried them assistance; but as the enemy was so numerous he found any attempt of this nature would be to no manner of purpose: however, he was determined to use his utmost efforts to defend the city, and to hinder the enemy from coming into the island; but this he foresaw would likewise be a task of great difficulty. The Portuguese were few in number, and the greatest part of the citizens were disaffected; some of them having been corrupted by the seditious discourses of our own people, and others extremely desirous of seeing their own king re-established. There were likewise many entrances into the island, and these not difficult; so that Albuquerque had at this time a most difficult part to act: to keep his own men in their duty, to guard against any treachery of the citizens, and to keep off a numerous enemy, threatening to attack him in many places.

He fortified the entrances to the island by a ditch and rampart, and placed garrisons under the command of such as he knew to be men of undoubted honour and bravery. There was one place the most strongly fortified, (which the natives called Benastar) directly opposite to that part of the continent where Palatecam, Zabaim's general, had encamped. Garcia Sousa, a man of great renown, was placed by Albuquerque at this station: he one day observed a white standard held up from the enemy's camp; upon which he displayed

one of the same colour, as a pledge of safety to any one who wanted to approach. A person then descended from a hill, covering the enemy's camp, and advanced towards the bank of the river, which at this place was so narrow, that two people might with great ease hold a conversation across. This man accordingly called aloud to Soufa, telling him he was a Portuguese, his name John Machiad, one of the exiles left at Melinda by Cabral: that having passed thence to Dio, he had served a considerable time under Melichiaz; but meeting afterwards with higher encouragement from the king of Goa, who taking him for a Turk, had given him a commission in his army, he had served under him since that time. But notwithstanding he pretended to be a Turk amongst these infidels, yet that he had only changed his holy religion in outward appearance, for in reality he was still a Christian: that therefore out of a sincere love to Christians, and to those of his own country, he had come on purpose to advise them to fly from approaching ruin. Zabaim, he said, had above forty thousand brave soldiers under his command, together with a large train of artillery. That the Portuguese would never be able to stand out against so great a force: he therefore entreated them to depart immediately from the island, lest if they remained till the winter season, their retreat might then be impracticable. Soufa returned him thanks, and immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the viceroy of this affair. But Albuquerque treated the advice with contempt, looking upon the whole as a stratagem contrived to intimidate our people, he said it would be most shameful to quit the island before they had made a trial whether it could be defended.

When Pulatecam perceived that Albuquerque was so firm in his resolution, he determined to try what force would effect. Having therefore got together his boats, he stationed them at the mouth of the river, and lest they should receive any damage from our
people's

people's cannon, he fortified the place with a ditch and rampart. As soon as the Portuguese observed this fortification, they endeavoured to destroy it; but their attempt being frustrated, they then endeavoured to dissuade Albuquerque from this affair. Albuquerque having gone out with some of his cavalry, and observed particularly this station, he then agreed with his officers for that time to desist from the attempt, and desired them to watch with all possible vigilance, that the enemy might not force their way into the island. He told them he would speedily come to their assistance with a large reinforcement, and that he would likewise order thither Norhona with several small vessels; so that when they thus made the attack by land and water, they might with the greater ease carry the enemy's station. Having returned into the city, he ordered certain small vessels rowed with oars (called by the people of Goa Coties) to be got ready, and brought to one place. These, however, were clandestinely sent to the enemy, in order to enable them to bring over their forces into the island. When Albuquerque discovered this treachery, he was moved with indignation, and ordered the author of it to be put to death. Mean while the enemy endeavoured to force a passage into the island with their utmost effort. But our people made so stout a resistance, that they obliged them to retreat.

Pulatecam finding he was repulsed with so much intrepidity, began now to despair of gaining his point in the day-time, and therefore resolved to try if he could effect it by night. As the winter approached, he thought it most expedient to wait for a dark and stormy night, when our people embarrassed by the weather, could not readily use their cannon, nor be on their guard at all places. The 17th of May happened to be such a night as he wished for, when he dispatched Zufalarim, a man of courage and activity, with a detachment of one thousand men, in boats, to attack the pass of Benastar. He likewise sent Melich
Cufforge

Cufforge to attempt another pass called Zancalin, at no great distance from thence. But Zufalarim, tho' he took the advantage of the storm and the silence of the night, yet was not able to surprize our people. The night, however, was so dark and tempestuous, and the enemy, who at once attack'd two passes, so superior in numbers that the Portuguese were at last driven from their stations, and the enemy got footing on the island. But this they did not effect till after a very fierce contest, in which some were killed, amongst whom was George Soufa. Albuquerque now retired into the city, together with those who had been driven from their stations: as he very much distrusted the soldiers of Goa, and was of opinion that enemies within the walls of a city, were more dangerous than those in the field, he therefore resolved to get rid of them by a stratagem: he accordingly ordered them to go to defend the pass of Benastor, promising that he himself would quickly come to their assistance. They went directly, as he expected, and joined Palatecam. After their departure he called to an account several merchants in the city, and inflicted capital punishment on one Mircazem, a person of vast wealth, who had been remarkably unfaithful to the Portuguese.

Palatecam encamped at a place about two miles distant from the city, from whence he made frequent incursions. Albuquerque sent Diego Ferdinand Fario to burn the enemy's vessels at the mouth of the river. This was accordingly attempted, but the enemy being so numerous soon extinguished the fire.

The enemy began to batter the walls of the city, which were now considerably weakened, in eight different places: at each of these Albuquerque placed a detachment of soldiers, under able commanders. He at the same time ordered a ship to be fitted out with all expedition, which he dispatched to Cochin to inform George Sylveire and Jerom Texeir (who had been concerned in the commotions raised against him) of his own danger, and that of the Portuguese; and earnestly

earnestly entreating them to come to his assistance. These two men, however, either piqued at Albuquerque, or despairing that they could be of service, disregarded his message. Palatecam in the mean while attacked the city with all his force, whilst our people defended it with the utmost obstinacy. Antony Norhona commanded the detachment stationed opposite to that part of the wall where the most considerable breach had been made, and withstood the enemy with amazing fortitude. When they continued to press upon him with greater fury, he made a sally from the breach, and charged them so fiercely, that he obliged them to retire. But in his retreat he was in the utmost danger. That day the city was stormed for three hours with great briskness, but much more briskly defended, insomuch that Pulatecam thought proper for that time to draw off his forces. The following night Pulatecam ordered his ships to be hauled ashore, to be repaired; he fortified the place with a ditch and rampart, and placed a garrison of soldiers for its farther defence. By break of day he made a vigorous assault on the whole city, especially on that part defended by Ayres Sylvio. But at this juncture too the enemy was repulsed with considerable damage.

The Portuguese were now certainly in the most distressed circumstances, being weaken'd with wounds, exhausted with fatigue, and afflicted with all the various hardships of such as are besieged and destitute of supplies. Albuquerque, though thus embarrassed, seemed to bear all with great magnanimity. He behaved on every occasion like a wise and valiant general, nor did he scruple to undergo the fatigue of a common soldier. He took every method to keep up the spirits of his men, endeavouring to give them hopes by his encouraging speeches, setting before them the ignominy of cowardice, and by his own example contributing not a little to animate them with resolution to bear the severest labour, and encounter the most frightful dangers.

In the mean while Machiad, whom we have mentioned above, came privately to Albuquerque from the enemy's camp, and informed him that Pulatecam had formed a design of burning our fleet. This piece of intelligence spread a general consternation amongst the Portuguese. George Cugna, Francis Pereire Coutign, Francis Soufa Manzio, and some others who had been amongst the Portuguese malecontents now again entreated and urged the viceroy to consult the safety of his men. They said their destruction was inevitable, if the city was not immediately abandoned. Such speeches as these, from persons of distinction, greatly dispirited the soldiery, so that Albuquerque had not more to dread from the designs of the enemy, than from the discontent of some of his own people, who endeavoured to stir up the army to a revolt. In all these difficulties, however, he behaved with great wisdom and tranquillity of mind. He preserved the fleet by his vigilance, and kept all his men to their duty by the steady firmness of his conduct.

It happened about this time too, that Zabaim passed over into the island with all his forces, and pitched his camp near Goa. Upon this, several Arabians in the city, whom fear had hitherto restrained, now took up arms and attacked our people. Albuquerque, considering the power of the enemy, the weakness of the walls, the infidelity of the Arabians, and the dissensions amongst his own men, now thought proper to retire to the fort with all his forces. Zabaim then entered the city without any opposition: the first thing he set about, was to endeavour to block up our people. The fort stands upon a river, with a deep and narrow channel: here he ordered large ships to be sunk, to render it unnavigable. Then he prepared certain machines of dry wood filled with sulphur and pitch; with these he intended to fire our fleet: and then he imagined he could without any difficulty destroy the Portuguese, when they were thus deprived of all means of flight. Albuquerque being apprized of these preparations

parations by a bramin, sent as a spy by Timoia, now resolved, if possible, to lead out his army from the fort, in the silence of the night. And as at that season he could not proceed to sea with his fleet, he therefore intended to station it in the harbour, and thence to annoy Zabaim as much as possible: and at the beginning of the spring, to return to storm the city with a reinforcement of men and ships. But first he dispatched the pilot of his own ship, to examine whether, notwithstanding the precautions used by the enemy, there was not yet a passage left for his fleet. The pilot upon his return, said, that the enemy had indeed sunk a large vessel in the channel of the river, but that there still remained a sufficient space for the passage of our ships.

Albuquerque had in the fort one hundred and fifty Arabians in chains, who had been convicted of treachery; these he commanded to be put to death. He ordered the women of the seraglio to be put aboard the ships, together with some Arabians, who had behaved with great fidelity. He took particular care too that all the guns, cannon, ammunition, and all the provisions should be shipped. He then ordered all the soldiers to embark, and lastly he himself went aboard the flag-ship. All this was carried on in the most profound silence, nor did the enemy perceive any thing of the matter, till they were alarmed by the flames of a magazine, which, being filled with pitch, oil and sulphur, had been fired by Norhona. They accordingly ran to the shore in great haste. A fierce contest ensued, in which Antony Norhona, Hieronym Limic, and Emmanuel Sacerda, with those under their command, repulsed the enemy, and greatly signalized themselves by their gallant behavior; all the Portuguese got aboard, though many indeed were wounded in the scuffle.

Thus Albuquerque evacuated the city and fort of Goa on the 30th of May, having been in possession about three months and a half. He then steered to

the town of Rapander, where he determined to winter with his fleet. Here Francis Soufa Manzio privately stole away, and went to sea with his ship; but the weather proved so tempestuous, that he could not proceed, and was obliged to return to the very place whence he had set out, where he was stript of his command by the viceroy. Zabaim having got intelligence by his spies, that Albuquerque intended to winter in the river, immediately gave orders that a fortified work should be raised at Bardes, the watering place of our people, where he stationed a detachment of soldiers, under the command of one Melichicuf. He likewise placed a strong garrison in Pangin, a castle situated at the mouth of the river. There was a neighbouring hill, which had the command of this fortress, here he ordered Pulatecam to encamp with three thousand soldiers. From these stations the enemy annoyed our people, so as to oblige Albuquerque to shift his situation: he accordingly removed his fleet to an arm of the sea, betwixt the continent and the island of Divar. But neither was he secure in this retreat from the enemy; for they immediately raised new works, and began to throw their darts, and fire their cannon upon our people. The Portuguese were likewise at this juncture extremely pinched for want of provisions. The famine every day increasing, obliged Albuquerque to send Antony Norhona and Menaich (one of the Indian chiefs who had been faithful) to the island of Divar, to try if they could procure a supply of provisions. They accordingly made a descent, and brought off a few cows, at the expence of some blood. Some of the Portuguese soldiers, tired of these hardships, swam from the ships, and deserted to Zabaim, whom they informed of the difficulties in which our people were involved.

About this time Albuquerque received intelligence from Machiad, that Zabaim had prepared several float-boats, filled with combustibles, to fire our fleet. These were to be followed by eighty ships, which were to
attack

attack and destroy the Portuguese, when thrown into a consternation, by this sudden danger. Albuquerque being greatly alarmed, began to consider what expedient he could devise to keep off this impending mischief. In the first place he resolved to try if he could take by storm the castle of Pangin, which of all the enemy's stations did the most damage to our people. This was certainly a bold, but mad design, with a few men and these almost consumed by a famine to venture upon the attack of a fortress defended by a numerous artillery, and a strong garrison. But hunger and despair, these grand incentives to intrepidity and contempt of death, so strongly actuated him, that he was ready to embark in any enterprize though never so dangerous. He sent Norhona and Simon Andrade, with one hundred men, to the west side of the hill, where Pulatecam was encamped. He dispatched northward Simon Martin, to guard a narrow pass in the road leading from the hill to the fort, that by this means he might prevent Pulatecam from marching to Pangin. To the southward of the mouth of the river he stationed Diego Ferdinand de Beja, with a galley, and Alphonso, Persona with a large ship, that from that station they might play their cannon on the enemy's camp. Those designed to storm the fort were divided into two bodies, in one of which the chief commanders were Emmanuel Lacerda, Sebastian Miranda, and Nunnez Vasco Albicastro: in the other, Hieronym Limic, Ayres Sylvio, George Fogozeo, John Limic, and Ferdinand Petre Andrade.

The disposition of the Portuguese army being thus settled, they proceeded on this expedition with so much silence, that none of the enemy could hear so much as the rowing of their oars. They landed at day-break, when every one entered upon his appointed station, with the most surprising alacrity. Albuquerque ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded, and the guns to be fired as a signal for the onset; then the Portuguese having raised a shout, rushed with great
fury

fury on the enemy, who, being half asleep, were struck with such a panic, that they fled in the utmost consternation. And thus the fort and camp of Pulatecam were taken at one assault, nor did his soldiers make the least resistance, but sought their safety by a sudden and precipitate flight; for they could not imagine that our people, when involved in such distress, could have ventured on so daring an enterprise, unless they had procured a considerable reinforcement. In this action about two hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed; our people did not think it safe to pursue them to a great distance. All the artillery found in the fort and camp was carried on board the Portuguese ships. The town of Pangin was plundered, and all the provisions found therein were sent as a supply to our fleet.

This sudden and unexpected blow very much alarmed Zabaim, and all his subjects. He was now apprehensive that our people would again march towards the city; he therefore erected towers, and raised fortifications without the walls; and sent Machiad with offers of peace to the Portuguese. Machiad, however, privately advised Albuquerque by no means to accept of these offers, unless upon very advantageous terms; for he said, Zabaim had lately received an account, that the king of Narsingua at the head of a formidable army was marching to invest Taracol, a city on the continent, which he had formerly taken by storm from that prince. He added besides, that Zabaim was afraid lest the ships trading to his dominions might be stopp'd by our fleet, and his revenue, which arose chiefly from commerce, especially from the great numbers of horses imported to Goa from Persia and Arabia, might thereby be considerably diminished. Albuquerque being resolv'd as soon as he could to attack Goa again, was averse to peace. He therefore offered such terms as were inconsistent with the interest and dignity of Zabaim to accept; so that the treaty came to nothing. Albuquerque spent the remainder of this winter struggling

gling with the greatest difficulties ; haraffed at once by an enemy, tempestuous weather, and scarcity of provisions ; he was also not a little disquieted by the behaviour of some of his own people. We have already mentioned the women whom Albuquerque had made captives ; intending to send them to Portugal to queen Mary ; these he treated with the strictest honour, and expressly forbid any person to be admitted to them without his particular orders. It happened, however, that some of the Portugese, and men of distinction too, had conceived a criminal passion for the Arabian women, and used to visit them frequently in the night-time. Roderick Diaze, son to the secretary, was the first contriver and promoter of this intrigue. He was violently in love with one of them, and used to visit her frequently. As soon as Albuquerque discovered this affair, he gave orders that he should be hanged. But the nobility, who had been equally guilty, went to the viceroy, and earnestly begged his life. Their request being refused, they complained bitterly, and used the most reproachful language against Albuquerque ; which obliged him to put them under confinement. However, as he found himself so much at a loss for want of men, he soon after ordered them to be set at liberty ; but they fired with resentment, that men of their high rank should have been treated so disgracefully, refused to accept of this indulgence, and insisted on being carried in fetters to Portugal, that in this condition they might represent to his Portugese majesty the insolent behaviour of Albuquerque. The viceroy, however, did not in the least regard their menaces, but deprived them of their command, and in their room substituted others of equal quality.

In the mean while Machiad, who very carefully inquired into all the designs of the enemy, informed Albuquerque that Zabaim was fitting out a fleet of eighty ships, to fall upon our people unawares. The viceroy thought it would be imprudent to wait for the

enemy, and therefore resolved to surprize them before all their ships were equipped. He accordingly dispatched Antony Norhona with ten pinnaces on this expedition. He sent beforehand two galleys, and a large ship with one paroe: these he ordered to lie in ambuscade near the shore, and by all possible means to endeavour to bring off some of the inhabitants, from whom they might get intelligence of the enemy's designs. Having waited a considerable time to no purpose, they proceeded till they came within reach of the city with their cannon. John Gundiffalvo, who commanded the parao, sailed beyond the city; and, notwithstanding there was a continued firing from the enemy's batteries, returned to the galleys without receiving the least damage. At last Norhona approached with his pinnaces and long-boats. He had with him three hundred men, distinguished for their conduct and bravery; amongst whom were the noblemen that had been put under confinement, who out of an affection for Norhona, offered their assistance, and accompanied him in the station of private soldiers.

Norhona having spied thirty of the enemy's paraos coming from the island of Divar, under the command of Zufalarim, and, at the same time, several galleys roving towards him from the city, he divided his fleet into two lines. One he ordered to engage the galleys, and he himself with the other sailed against Zufalarim, who was far from declining an engagement. The fight was accordingly begun, and for a considerable time maintained on both sides with the greatest heat. But at length, after great numbers of his men were slain, Zufalarim made towards the shore: the other ships followed his example, and the action was renewed near the town, in sight of Zabaim. Norhona pursued Zufalarim's ship, which was driven aground from the eagerness of the chace. Simon Andrade and his brother Ferdinand Petre Andrade, boarded her; and being soon followed by three others, they forced the enemy to flight. But as Norhona was en-

deavouring to bring assistance to those brave men, and had already got one foot in the ship, he was wounded in the left leg by a weapon from the town, and fell into the long-boat. In this general consternation, whilst every one strove to bring Norhona from the engagement, no body thought of assisting the five Portuguese in the enemy's ship. Besides, it being now almost low water, the ship was on dry land; so that the enemy had an opportunity of falling on those men who were left destitute. The Andraides signalized themselves greatly on this occasion, and defended their companions with so much gallantry, that Zabaim himself was struck with admiration at their behaviour. As the water was now extremely shallow by the fall of the tide, it became very difficult for the Portuguese to rescue these five men. However, the pilot of Coutign's ship, with seven others, undertook this enterprize; and accordingly a long-boat was immediately got ready for that purpose. When they approached the ship, they found Beja before them, who was extremely serviceable in defending them from the enemy; so that they brought off the Andrades and their companions, with great applause. Beja then used his utmost endeavour to tow along the enemy's ship, but all his efforts proved to no purpose. Great numbers of the enemy were killed in this engagement. The joy of our people on this victory was however greatly damped by the loss of Norhona, who died of his wound three days afterwards. His death deeply affected his uncle Albuquerque, who loved him as a son, and filled the whole Portuguese army with sorrow and regret; for he was not only universally admired for his gallantry and intrepidity, but also justly beloved for his sweetness of temper and benevolent disposition.

Zabaim sent messengers to the Andraides, expressing his regard and esteem for their bravery. He said he could not behold such conspicuous merit without the highest admiration; and, notwithstanding he was their enemy, yet he would be ready to give them the highest

proofs of affection and friendship. To this polite message they returned a most civil and obliging answer. Zabaim now passed over into the continent, to stop the progress of the king of Narfingua's arms. Thence he sent several deputies to Albuquerque, with proposals of peace; but they could not bring matters to an accommodation. As it was now a proper season of the year, Albuquerque resolved to sail for Anchedive, thence to Cananor, to refit his fleet and refresh his men, almost worn out with sickness and fatigue. A little before he doubled the promontory called Rama, which reaches to the coast of Goa, he descried five Portuguese ships; four of which belonged to the fleet commanded by Diego Mendez Vasconcello, who according to Emmanuel's orders was to sail for Malacca. The remaining ship was one of Ferdinand Coutign's fleet, which had wintered at Mozambique. Albuquerque and his men were greatly overjoyed at this reinforcement.

Whilst these things happened in India, the following transactions were performed in Africa: Nunnez Ferdinand Ataide, having marched out his army from Arzila, attacked and defeated Benguanem the king of Fez's general. Several of the enemy were taken, and many killed, amongst whom was the general himself. Vasco Coutign Conde di Borbe, and governor of Arzila, likewise surpris'd several of the king of Fez's generals, and carried off great numbers of their cattle. Barraxa and Almandarin at that time fought under the king of Fez, and were reputed to be very brave commanders, and men of great skill in war. They raised a considerable army, and marched to the gates of Arzila; where, however, they performed nothing memorable. The king himself soon after went at the head of a considerable army, to besiege Arzila; but finding the place strongly fortified, well furnished with soldiers, and stocked with provisions, he desisted from the attempt. Barraxa and Almandarin, with several other generals, having under their command a numerous body

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dy of cavalry, came likewise a second time to invest Arzila. Here we cannot but take notice of the behaviour of the brave, the unfortunate Ferdinand de Castro. He sallied out upon the enemy with the most uncommon intrepidity; but the gates being shut by the governor's orders, he was left without with one servant only; however, he was at last joined by ten more Portuguese, who acted as scouts. This gallant youth spurred on his horse, and rushed into the midst of the enemy, where he did great execution; but being overpowered by numbers, was at last killed. The rest were saved by a reinforcement sent from the city, but they received several wounds in their retreat before the enemy were repulsed.

The same year George Vieira made an excursion with thirty-three of the cavalry, and attacked Cid Hamet, son to the governor of Alcazar-Quivir, who had one hundred horse under his command. The rencounter was sharp on both sides; but at last Vieira, and the greatest part of his men, being either killed or taken, a very few saved themselves by flight. Francis Conde di Gale, who was afterwards Conde di Viminofa, made an excursion with ninety horse, and attacked a village, where he killed and took prisoners several of the inhabitants. But a signal being given by the enemy, they poured upon him in such numbers, that he was in the greatest danger: for being violently struck with a stone, he became in a manner lifeless, and would have dropped down, had he not been supported by Alvarez de Branco. Several men of distinction amongst the Portuguese were killed in this action; however, Francis took sixteen of the enemy, and returned victorious to Arzila.

At this time also Emmanuel fitted out four fleets; one of these, as mentioned above, was commanded by Diego Mendez Vasconcelo, which sailed from Lisbon on the 7th of March: another of seven ships was put under the command of Gundiffalvo Sequeira, who left Lisbon on the 17th of the same month. These two

were ordered for India. A third of three ships was given to John Serran, whom the king ordered to sail for Madagascar, to make alliances in his name with the princes of that island, and to load his ships with the most valuable commodities in the country. The fourth fleet consisted of thirty ships; the command of which was given to Nunnez Ferdinand Ataide; who, according to his instructions, sailed to Saffia, in order to keep that city under the dominion of his Portuguese majesty. We have already given the particulars of Vasconcelo's voyage to India. As for Sequeira, he lost one ship, and arrived at the port of Cochin with the rest of his fleet in safety. Thence he sailed to Cannanor to meet Albuquerque. Serran having undergone various hardships, at last reached Madagascar; where cruising along that coast, he entered into treaties of friendship with some of the princes. During his stay at this place, he found one of the Portuguese sailors who had been left with Gomez Abræo. Having received this man into his fleet, he was informed by him, that it would be to very little purpose for the Portuguese to continue long at this island, since it produced nothing of value or profit. He accordingly sailed for India; and in his way thither, met with much tempestuous weather.

When Vasconcelo came to anchor in the port of Goa, he embraced Albuquerque with great affection, and delivered him a letter from Emmanuel; wherein his majesty ordered him to give Vasconcelo all the assistance in his power to enable him to pursue his voyage to Malacca. At this time a general council was held, and it was the opinion of every one, that nothing was to be preferred to the war of Goa, and that Vasconcelo ought to be present at an affair of so much importance. Moreover they said, that the voyage to Malacca was too arduous an enterprize for him to venture upon with four ships only; but after Goa was taken, he might then have a greater number to join him in
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this difficult undertaking. Vasconcelo accordingly consented.

Albuquerque sailed now for Anchedive : he dispatched Francis Pantoia to Zocotora, with a ship loaded with provisions ; and by him recalled the governor of Zocotora. He sent likewise a letter to Lernos, informing him, that by reason of the present war, he could not send him the reinforcement of ships he had promised. He sailed next for Onor ; where Timoia waited upon him, and brought all manner of refreshing provisions for his fleet. Here Vasconcelo delivered Timoia a very affectionate letter from Emmanuel ; wherein he returned him thanks for his many services, and assures him of such testimonies of his friendship and gratitude, that he should never repent of his fidelity to the Portuguese. The zeal and affection of Timoia for Emmanuel, was more and more heightened by this letter, and he bound himself by an oath to be always a true and faithful subject to his Portuguese majesty. Albuquerque sailed next for Cananor, where he had a conference with the king near the shore. By his polite behaviour, and friendly speeches, he very much engaged his majesty's affections, and strengthened his friendship towards the Portuguese. He sent from this place Simon Martin Caldeir, and Garcia Soufa, with six ships to scour the coast of Calicut, and intercept all ships sailing to or from the port of Calicut. He at the same time dispatched Jasper Paiva with three ships, to cruize for the same purpose on the coast of Goa. He likewise desired of Vasconcelo, that he would guard the other coasts of India with four more ships. They accordingly all went to their stations with great cheerfulness, and took several of the enemy's ships : in one of these were found two Jews, who afterwards embraced the Christian religion, and performed the office of interpreters with great fidelity.

In the mean while Albuquerque received an express of the death of the king of Cochin ; who, as we have mentioned above, had greatly distinguished himself for

his fidelity to the Portuguese; and in the latter part of his life, had resigned his crown, and retired into a temple, to spend the remainder of his days in religious worship. His sister's son, according to the laws of the country, had succeeded him. It was the custom, however, on the death of a prince, who had abdicated his throne upon the account of religion, that he who had succeeded to his crown should likewise inherit his piety, by following his example, and retire into the same temple, to dedicate the remainder of his life to the study of religion; and that he should be succeeded by his next heir. It happened at the time when Duarte Pacheco was engaged in war with the zamorin, that the next heir to the crown of Cochin had revolted from his uncle, and joined the enemy. For this reason he had been excluded from his right of succession, and another substituted in his room as nearly related to Trinumpar. However, when the exile heard of his uncle's death, he began then to use his endeavours to persuade his cousin to give up his crown to him, and retire into a temple. The king held a consultation with our people, who would by no means allow a man of so much perfidy, and such an inveterate enemy, to be established on the throne of Cochin, which was entrusted to their protection. The prince accordingly rejected the request of his cousin. This ambitious youth being pushed on by the desire of a crown, procured an army from the zamorin, and invaded the Cochinian territories. As soon as Albuquerque received intelligence of this, he went for Cochin, fortified the kingdom, and left some of the bravest of his troops for the protection of the prince his ally. These preparations so much alarmed the invader, that he desisted from his attempt for that time. After Albuquerque returned to Cananor, he again began hostilities, and made inroads on the kingdom of Cochin: but Nunez Vasco Albicastro, and Laurence Moreno, having marched out against the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers.

bers. The exile prince himself escaped with great difficulty.

About this time a deputy came to the viceroy from the king of Cambaya, telling him his master had been informed, that Albuquerque had fitted out several ships to sail for the gulf of Arabia; and that it would be extremely agreeable to his majesty if one of the ships in their way thither would touch at the port of Cambaya, that he might enter into a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese. He brought likewise letters from fifty Portuguese, who were detained as captives by the king of Cambaya. These men had sailed from Zocotora with Alphonso Norhona; but a storm arising, they were shipwrecked on the coast of Cambaya. Norogna and some others, who had endeavoured to save themselves by planks, were swallowed up in the waves; but those who remained in the ship, though in such a condition, made shift to get ashore at the falling of the tide, and being taken by the natives, were carried to the king. In their letters they earnestly requested of Albuquerque, that he would deliver them from captivity. He accordingly returned a very polite obliging answer to the king, and encouraged the Portuguese prisoners with the pleasing hopes of liberty.

About the beginning of November, Albuquerque sailed from Cananor for the port of Onor. When he arrived there he found great preparations for the marriage of Timoia with the queen of Gozompa; and accordingly he graced the nuptials with his presence. His fleet at this time consisted of thirty-four ships; he had aboard fifteen hundred Portuguese, and three hundred Indians. He was likewise joined by three more ships of Timoia: with this force he proceeded on his expedition against Goa. The sudden approach of our people struck such a terror into the inhabitants, that they abandoned the forts of Bardis and Pangin, and retired into the city in the utmost consternation. Albuquerque being resolved to lose no time, immediately dispatched John and Jerom de Lima, and some other officers, to survey the city, and

and bring him an account of its present state and condition. They accordingly executed their commission, and at their return informed him, that it was strongly fortified with a ditch and rampart, and strengthened by a numerous garrison of soldiers. Nevertheless Albuquerque resolved to make an attack on Goa: and as he was of opinion, that the success of an enterprize depends not a little on the speedy execution, he therefore determined to make an assault on the city the day following. In the first place he formed a design, by force of arms, to drive the enemy from their several posts without the walls; then he intended to encamp his men in several stations, and that they should keep a continual firing upon the walls till a breach was made, whereby they might force their way into the city: but the affair proved not so difficult as he imagined, as we shall see by the event. That night he sent before some of the galleys and lower-deck'd ships, with orders to play their cannon on the city without intermission, that by this means the enemy might be kept without sleep, and our people might attack them next morning with this advantage. Albuquerque and his officers accordingly went aboard their long-boats before light, and with the greatest silence landed their men by day-break. He himself with five hundred Portuguese, and three hundred Indians, attacked the northern station; whilst some others of his commanders fell upon that near the shore. John and Jerom de Lima, Lacerda and Beja, with about three hundred soldiers, made a furious onset on the station near the city. Vasconcelo and Paiva, with two hundred men, went against that in the middle. The Andrades, Ayres Sylvia, and some others were sent to dislodge a party of the enemy stationed near a narrow arm of the sea, called Timoia. The enemy discharged their artillery on our people, and endeavoured to repulse them: but all their efforts were in vain; for the Portuguese, not at all deterred by the multitude of weapons poured upon them, rushed on the enemy with
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great forwardness, and drove them from their stations. One of the enemy's officers was posted with a reserved body of men at the gate of St. Catharine, (as it was called by our people) in order, if occasion required it, to succour those who were stationed without the walls. As soon as this man perceived his friends so warmly pushed by our people, he sallied out from the city with a fresh body of troops. The arrival of this reinforcement gave great spirits to the enemy, and the engagement became severe and bloody. The Portuguese, however, at last, by their undaunted bravery, overcame superiority of numbers, and obliged the enemy to retire; who when they reached the gates endeavoured to shut them, but our people pressed upon them so closely, that they were unable to accomplish their design. For Dionysio Fernando Melos, who was next the enemy in the pursuit, by thrusting in a large spear, prevented the gates from being shut. Several others of the Portuguese, when they came up, followed his example. The enemy, however, still used their utmost efforts to shut the gates; for in this their safety entirely depended. The Portuguese, on the other hand, were confident they should be victorious, if they got admittance; for this reason they exerted themselves no less strenuously to keep the gates open. At last they gained their point; for thirteen of our people next the gate, having obliged the enemy to give way, rushed into the city with amazing intrepidity. The enemy in their retreat very much annoyed them with their darts and arrows. Several of the inhabitants also pelted them with stones from the tops and windows of their houses. In this distraction they were likewise attacked by some strong parties of the enemy; but Ayres Sylvio, Mendez Alphonso Tingitan, Fernando Petre Andrade, Emmanuel Cugna, and Antony Garcesio, coming up to their assistance with a troop of horse, the fight was then renewed with fresh vigour, and the enemy at last driven to flight. Some sheltered themselves in the house of Zabaim, and the rest fled
many

many different ways; hence our people were very much scattered in the pursuit. About twenty of the Portuguese having followed those who had taken to Zabim's house, were in the utmost jeopardy. The enemy attacked them at their entrance with uncommon fury. Vasco Fonteca, and Vasco Cælo rushing in with too much precipitation, were both killed. Jerom de Lima, after having been quite spent by fatigue and loss of blood, fell likewise in this affair. The fate of these brave men deterred the rest, and made them retreat; but at the instigation of Mendez Alphonso, and Ayres Sylvio, the Portuguese made a second attack with so much ardor, that they forced their way into the house, and killed several of the enemy there. John de Lima was overwhelmed with grief at the sight of his brother in the agonies of death. Jerom perceiving this, ' Brother (said he) allow not yourself to be thus moved by an unmanly sorrow, whilst you neglect to perform the duty of a gallant soldier. Grieve not at my fate, for I die with pleasure, since by my fall I have given a publick testimony of my fidelity to my king and country.' John being animated by these words of his brother, now past recovery, pushed on furiously amongst the enemy with a resolution to revenge the death of so dear a relation.

Opposite to Zabaim's house there was a spacious plain, and a hill almost adjoining. In this place some of our people were engaged with a party of the enemy, when of a sudden a considerable number, both horse and foot, rushing out from Zabaim's house, which was very large, surrounded the Portuguese, and would certainly have cut them all to pieces, if Vasconcelo had not come up with a timely reinforcement. At his entrance into the city he had drawn up his men in battle array, and drove the enemy before him in such a manner, that he never allowed his soldiers to be put out of order. He attacked the enemy, who thought proper to retreat to the neighbouring eminence; but when they observed from thence the small
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number of the Portuguese, they returned to the fight with great fury. Our people being overpowered by numbers, retired by degrees towards Zabaim's house, and planted themselves on a large flight of steps adjoining thereto. Here they withstood the shock of their adversaries for some time, till at last, having, as it were, acquired a fresh degree of spirits, they renewed the charge with surprising intrepidity. In this onset several of the enemy were killed, amongst these there was an Ethiopian, a man of high renown for his bravery, who belonged to the cavalry. When this person fell, Emmanuel Lacerda's servant seized his horse, and brought him to his master. In this encounter Lacerda himself received a desperate wound in the jaw from an arrow, which broke and left its iron head in the bone; there followed immediately a vast effusion of blood, and he suffered the most tormenting pain: yet this did not abate his ardor; for as soon as he got on horseback, he singly attacked eight of the enemy's cavalry, and drove them to flight. The fierceness of the enemy began now to slacken apace, for they made but a faint resistance; and at last their spirits quite failed them, and they sought their safety by open flight: some were in such despair, that they threw themselves headlong from the walls.

Mean while Albuquerque, who had marched with a body of men to attack a station at a considerable distance from the shore, was now advancing towards the city, and had taken possession of an eminence. From thence he heard the noise of the cannon, the shouts of the men, and the shrieks of women; he therefore immediately dispatched a messenger to get intelligence how affairs stood. But the eagerness and impatience of Albuquerque did not permit him to wait his return, for he marched towards the city with all possible expedition. There he met with several parties of the flying enemy, who, fired with indignation at their late defeat, and now quite desperate, upon finding themselves stopped in their retreat, they fell upon Albuquerque

querque in the most furious manner. The viceroy's men were spurred on by the highest emulation; and as they had not shared the honour of the victory gained in the city, they were now resolved not to be outstripped in courage by their friends, and accordingly fought with the most incredible ardor. The greatest part of the enemy were killed in this action, and the remainder saved themselves by flight. Albuquerque, at his entrance into the city, ordered thanksgivings to be offered up for this extraordinary success: nor indeed could there be a more manifest instance of the divine interposition than this, that a city so strongly fortified and defended by such a numerous garrison, should, within the space of six hours, be taken by so small a number. The thing becomes still more wonderful, when we consider with what obstinacy the enemy fought. Some of them behaved with so much gallantry in Zabain's house, that our people, struck with admiration at their intrepidity, not only offered them life and liberty, but also promised to reward them as their high merit deserved: but these men chose rather to die on the spot than receive life from their enemy, which to them appeared the highest ignominy. There were above three thousand men slain in the city. The Portuguese lost only about forty; amongst these were Jerom Lima, Vasco Fonseca, Cosmo Cælo, Antony Vogado, Antony Garfeco, Alvaro Gomeza, and Petre Gomez de Lima. They had likewise above three hundred wounded. Albuquerque being afraid lest his men, flushed with success, should pursue the enemy, and thus straggling in a confused manner, should perhaps fall into some ambuscade; he therefore thought proper to order the gates to be shut.

Soon after this victory, Timoia came to Goa with three thousand men. He made such an excuse for his delay, as entirely satisfied Albuquerque; and indeed the shortness of the time in which the victory was gained, might alone have been sufficient to clear him from any suspicion. Nothing had been left in the city
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but what was proper for its defence; so that the booty consisted chiefly of artillery, warlike stores, and a considerable number of ships. The viceroy ordered all the Arabians to leave the city: such, however, as were not of the Mahometan religion, he allowed to remain in the island, on condition they should pay the same tribute to Emmanuel they had done to Zabaim. He then published an edict, wherein he granted a free trade to all merchants willing to import horses, or other commodities into Goa; and assured them of protection from all injury. He dispatched Emmanuel Cugna to take upon him the government of the fort at Cananor, in room of Roderick Rabelo, whom he appointed governor of the fort of Goa. He ordered Petre Fonseca de Castro, Antony Sala, and Fernand Petre Andrade, to cruize near Goa, to be a guard and protection to all ships bound for that port. He sent likewise George Botel, and Simon Alphonso Bifacut, to intercept all ships trading to Calicut. They accordingly entered upon, and executed their respective commissions with great expedition. Andrade having spied at sea a ship belonging to Ormuz, gave her chase because she would no strike. She took to the port of Dabul, where she foundered. The governor of Dabul discharged his artillery upon Andrade, from a tower which commanded the harbour. But he having landed his men, took the tower by storm, which he demolished, and carried the artillery aboard his ship. Botel likewise attacked and took a large Arabian ship, where he got a considerable booty.

Albuquerque now settled the publick revenues and taxes, and established a government on wise and salutary laws. He next set about another grand and noble undertaking. In this indeed he went contrary to the opinion of many of the Portuguese, and particularly of Almeed. And it may not be improper, if we here briefly set forth the different sentiments of these two great commanders. Both were certainly men endowed with true greatness of soul, and amazing cou-

rage ; both pursued the same noble ends ; both had at heart the glory of their religion, and the honour of their royal master ; and for this purpose, either would have sacrificed his life with the utmost cheerfulness. But they differed from each other in this respect : Almeed thought it extremely unsafe to aim at storming cities ; since by dividing their strength this would certainly weaken the Portuguese. It was therefore his opinion, that our people ought to keep at sea ; for if they had the superiority there, they would have all India under their command. The sea was Almeed's only concern, and if there was only one safe station where the ships might winter, this alone he thought would be sufficient ; for he thought it impossible, that such reinforcements could be sent every year from Portugal, as were necessary to garrison the forts. And he concluded it to be almost a crime for any one to venture upon a scheme in this manner, to divide the Portuguese, who when united in one body, would always strike terror into their enemies.

Albuquerque had more unbounded hopes ; he not only had an eye to their present security, but also planned in his mind the foundation of a grand and lasting empire in the east. Nor did he think the sending every year large quantities of spices to Portugal, was an affair so worthy of his attention, as that of enlarging and fixing the sovereignty of Emmanuel. And as they could not have supplies but at so great a distance, he therefore resolved to plant colonies of the Portuguese in many parts of India, that in process of time they might be able to levy armies in that country. He thought a dominion at sea alone would be very insufficient, for one storm might destroy their whole force ; whereas if they were masters by land, this would likewise secure their power at sea ; for if any misfortune should happen to their fleet, they would then be enabled to repair it, and would quickly recover their naval strength : that it would also be extremely dangerous for the fleet to be shut up in one

station in a country, where perhaps the soil being barren, was unable to support an army in winter quarters. Those persons, therefore, who thought Cochin or Cannanor would be sufficient for the Portuguese amidst such a number of enemies, so bent on their destruction, seemed to him to have very little regard for futurity; since one station, though never so strong, would avail little, unless they could send supplies from many quarters. The taking possession therefore of many places was, in his opinion, not to weaken, but enlarge the naval power: for if they had many stations and retreats, the fleet would then go to sea with less danger, and they would have a greater quantity of materials for building or refitting their ships. In short, as Albuquerque had in his view the perpetual possession of India, he therefore resolved to procure wives for the Portuguese, in order to raise an offspring, that by this means they might in time have such a recourse in India, as not to depend entirely on the supplies sent from Portugal, who, in the course of such long and dangerous voyages, were often cut off by distempers, or swallowed up in the waves.

The wisdom and foresight of this great man was certainly extremely serviceable to the Portuguese; the happy effects of which appeared many years after his death. For when Solyman the grand Turk, sent the governor of Egypt with a formidable fleet to drive the Portuguese from India, he besieged the citadel of Dio; and, notwithstanding he met with a very warm reception, and was vigorously opposed by our people, yet he continued the siege many days with great vigour; nor would he have desisted from the attempt so soon, had he not been informed, that a powerful squadron was coming from Goa. Nor would the king of Cambaya, who at another time, with an army of Turks, besieged the same place for six months, have been so easily overthrown by John de Castro, then viceroy of India, had it not been owing to the numerous and timely supplies sent from Goa; for this colony became in time so great and numerous,

that it could raise armies, and send forth fleets. This arose entirely from the prudent management of Albuquerque who took so much pains to lay such a foundation as could not be easily shaken. He took several women captives in India: these he treated with the highest respect; and having initiated them in the Christian religion, he gave them in marriage to his soldiers, to whom he allotted settlements in the island of Goa, and endeavoured to make these marriages happy by all manner of favour and encouragement. Thus, like Romulus, who founded the city of Rome, or Theseus, who forced the Athenians from the country into the city, he might also be stiled the founder of that city which he had won by his intrepid behaviour.

In the mean while the following exploits were performed in Africa. Ataide, who held the government of Saffia, having made frequent excursions against the Moors, put them into great consternation, and drove off their cattle in vast numbers. There was one Moor, whom the rest held in the highest esteem, nay almost gave him divine honours, because of his great reputation for religion and sanctity of manners. By way of distinction he lived in a strong castle. This Ataide took by storm; he killed many, and made many prisoners, amongst whom was this religious Moor. In short he spread such a terror amongst them, that all the neighbouring towns, villages, districts, and provinces, sued for peace, and became tributary to Emmanuel. But as the Moors are a deceitful people, and bound by no ties of religion, those who had surrendered being influenced by the rest of their countrymen, broke the treaty, and again raised a war against our people. In a little time they got together an army of three thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. The 13th of December 1510, they marched to invest the city of Saffia, and on the 23d they pitched their camp, and began to make preparations for the siege. As soon as Ataide got intelligence of their designs by his scouts, he sent letters of advice to Emmanuel, and at the same time

time dispatched a ship to the Madeira's, to desire a reinforcement from thence. Simon Gundiffalvo Camara, the governor of this island was at that time absent, being in Portugal with his majesty. His wife, however, a woman not a little resembling her husband in activity and greatness of soul, with great expedition and expence, fitted out auxiliaries, and sent them to Saffia, under the command of Emmanuel Norhona first cousin of Camara.

Ataide disposed his men into proper stations, under the command of the most experienced officers, and omitted nothing that was the duty of a watchful general for the defence of the city. He likewise reserved to himself a body of soldiers; with these he intended to assist and support those quarters which were most warmly pressed by the enemy. And, the better to observe the enemy's motions, he marched out of the city with three hundred and seventy horse, one hundred foot, and some artillery; and took possession of a hill. From thence he gave a signal of battle, to see if the enemy would come to an engagement. But as they did not advance, he again withdrew his men into the city. On the 24th of the same month, they began to storm the city. The assault was carried on with uncommon vigour: for the enemy was numerous, and their men fought with remarkable courage, being not only encouraged by the presence, but also animated by the example of their nobility and commanders, who rushed to encounter danger wherever it appeared, and fought with amazing intrepidity. They began now to apply their scaling ladders, and approaching under their covered galleries, they battered the walls, and endeavoured to destroy our people by throwing in upon them vast quantities of javelins and other missive weapons. The Portuguese, however, defended the city with great resolution, and made considerable havock with their bombs and red hat bullets. They killed that day above four hundred of the besiegers. The following day Ataide set out with only

eight of the cavalry, to try if he could take by surprize any one of the enemy, from whom he might learn their designs. But being discovered, he could not accomplish his intention; and after having killed two of their men who attacked him, he returned to the city.

The enemy being convinced they could not carry on the siege for any considerable time, by reason of their numerous army, which it would be almost impossible to support; they therefore resolved to exert their whole force in one general assault. Accordingly on the 30th they assailed the city with the utmost fury, pouring upon the besieged a multitude of darts, and attacking the walls in all parts in so resolute a manner, that many of our people being seized with a panic, deserted their stations. The enemy would certainly have carried the place had it not been for the vigilance and activity of Ataide, who, wherever he observed the attack to be fiercest, there he immediately repaired: nor did he ever fail to support his men when giving way, calling aloud to them in the most encouraging manner, and animating them with the example of his own gallantry and contempt of danger. Having perceived the greatest heat of the assault to be in that part of the walls next the sea, he flew to the relief of his men there, and by the bravery of his own hand, contributed not a little to repulse the assailants from that quarter. The enemy, however, in the most undaunted manner scaling the walls in one part, and in another applying their battering machines, they seemed determined at all hazards on the mastery of the city, and the entire destruction of our people in the same day. But notwithstanding all their efforts, they were withstood with so much obstinacy, that after a storm of six hours, without intermission, they desisted from their attempt. Above six hundred of the enemy perished in this affair. The most of their army being disheartned by so vigorous a repulse, quitted the siege in a precipitate manner. They moved their camp on the 31st of December, and marched off in so much confusion, that

it might rather be called a flight than a decampment. Ataide pursued them with four hundred horse and one hundred foot, and having come up with their rear, he killed some of them, and made a few prisoners. He was afraid, however, to continue his pursuit, lest the enemy, relying on their numbers, might have rallied their forces, and attacked him when thus separated from his main body.

The siege of Saffia being thus abandoned, many of the neighbouring Moors again surrendered themselves to the Portuguese. Ataide, though a man of the most active spirit, and always contriving some scheme for the annoyance of the enemy, yet thought proper to defer any scheme of this nature, till that large body of the Moors was disbanded. Having received intelligence of their dispersion, he then resolved to make an excursion against the enemy. And being informed by a certain Moor that there were five stations of the enemy about four miles from Almedin, a strong town in Morocco, thirty miles north from Saffia, he formed a design to fall upon them unawares; and accordingly set out for that purpose on the 2d of January 1511, with four hundred and thirty horse and one hundred foot. He reached the place in the dead of the night; but finding none of the enemy there, (for they often change their quarters) he dispatched his scouts to get intelligence whither the Moors had moved to. At their return they brought him word, that the enemy were about two miles from thence. He therefore dispatched Emmanuel Norhona (whom we mentioned above to have come to the relief of Saffia, in his cousin's absence) with one hundred and eighty of the cavalry, to keep the enemy in play till the main body came up. He ordered likewise Andrew Caldeir, and John Freire, to follow him with a body of foot, in order to assist him when there was occasion. But Norhona, hurried on by the heat of youth, and an immoderate desire of glory, was unwilling to wait for this reinforcement, and accordingly pressed forward with so much expedition,

that he left them at a considerable distance. Ataide having been informed of this, sent Emmanuel Cervario with thirty horse to bring back Norhona; for he was extremely apprehensive that this youth would run headlong into some imminent danger. But Cervario, when he came up with Norhona, found him amidst the thickest of the enemy. He therefore immediately sent an express to inform Ataide that the fight was already begun with unusual ardour.

Ataide having received this intelligence immediately hastened to their assistance with fifteen horse, and ordered Alvarez Ataide to bring up the remainder of the forces with all possible expedition. In the mean time, Norhona and his men were in the utmost danger. Alvar Roderick Azeved being run through with a spear, was killed on the spot. Bernard Emmanuel likewise received a grievous wound, and fell from his horse. The Moor who knocked him down, seized his spear, and fought with it against our people with remarkable courage. But George Mendez Ataide of Algarve, rode up against this man with so much rapidity, that he dismounted him, and soon after dispatched him. Bernard Emmanuel, who performed wonders before he received the wound, was now helped upon his horse, and thus carried off almost lifeless. He was a man of great reputation, but this he had acquired more by the bravery of his hand, than the wisdom of his head. This engagement, though begun and conducted with rashness, yet had a happy issue; for the enemy were routed and put to flight before Ataide came up; many were killed, many taken prisoners, and a considerable booty was carried off.

Ataide being now come up, had scarce joined Norhona when he perceived a numerous body of the Moors approaching: he accordingly drew up all his force in battle array. The enemy made the like preparations, and seemed eager for an engagement. Their army consisted of four hundred horse and one thousand foot. They began the onset with so much fury, that

that they had almost broke through the ranks of our people. Ataide's horse being wounded in three different places, he was obliged to retire to get another. Mean while the stones, javelins, and darts were flying from all quarters; the horses with the pain of their wounds made a most horrible noise, and many of them dropped down dead in the field. When Ataide returned to the engagement, he found two of his men, who had been dismounted, fighting afoot with great bravery; these he rescued from a crowd of the enemy, who had surrounded them. The fight continued for a considerable time with uncommon heat, and the victory seemed to incline to neither side; till at last Ataide calling aloud to his soldiers, spirited them on to such a degree, that they pressed upon the enemy with the most intrepid boldness; and having at once killed above three hundred, they drove the rest to flight. Ataide, however, declined pursuing them, lest, as was commonly the case, being in their retreat strengthened by reinforcements from other parts of the country, they should again turn upon him, and attack his men pursuing them in a disorderly manner; he therefore chose rather to return with his booty. But as the city was so far distant, before he could reach it, the enemy recovering from their fright, came upon him in a considerable body. Our people, however, though with difficulty, withstood the shock, and preserved their ranks, notwithstanding the enemy charged them with the most intrepid fury. Ataide found himself so involved in difficulties, that he could not extricate his men without leaving all his plunder and baggage. In this excursion and retreat, thirteen of the Portuguese were killed; seventeen of their horses were likewise destroyed, besides thirty more, which being unable to travel, Ataide ordered to be killed, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands.

The same year Ataide having received intelligence, that there were five and twenty troops of the enemy about thirty-two miles from Saffia, he resolved to at-

tack them. But as there were many Jews and Arabians who had come into the city with merchandize and provisions, he ordered the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed, that none of these people might escape to inform the enemy of his design. He set out a little before dark, on the 23d of October, with four hundred horse and five hundred foot. He marched all night with the greatest silence, and arrived at the intended place by day-break. He fell upon the enemy unawares; and having killed and taken prisoners above eight hundred, he set out again on his return with such a considerable booty of cattle, that it reached in length the space of two miles. Ataide, however, as he had a considerable way to march, and the roads were rugged, was afraid the enemy might fall upon him when thus encumbered with such a number of cattle, and therefore he thought it expedient to leave the greatest part, and accordingly proceeded with the remainder. As he marched along he received information, that three hundred horse had set out from Almedine to attack him; he therefore placed all the baggage and cattle in the middle of his army, and strengthened the rear, in order to receive the enemy. The Moors accordingly having come up with the last part of his army, made a most furious attack, but they met with so warm a reception, that they durst not advance farther; and Ataide having received no more annoyance, entered the city of Saffia with all his men in the dusk of the evening. The neighbouring Moors having thus received many terrible blows, now sued for peace, and acknowledged Emmanuel for their prince. Many of the villagers, as well as those who lived on the mountains, and several of the towns and provinces, submitted at this time to the Portuguese, and agreed to pay an annual tribute to Emmanuel. The greatest part of the tribute consisted of corn, with which they obliged themselves to furnish the Portuguese. In short, all the enemies of Emmanuel were now struck with so much terror, that the Moors who
lived

lived in Morocco became frightened to the highest degree; and for their safety retired to more remote countries: those only lived secure and easy in their possessions, who were allies or tributaries of Emmanuel. In all these affairs, whether civil or military, Jehabentaf was extremely serviceable. This man, as we have mentioned above, having been pardoned by Emmanuel, was afterwards highly honoured and respected.

But to return to the affairs in the East, it will not, we hope, seem improper, if we here give some account of what happened to Lemos before he arrived in India. Having passed Cape Guardafu, he steered for Ormuz. Upon his arrival, he sent a messenger to the king, to inform him, that he was come there by the command of Emmanuel, and was ready to give all the assistance in his power to promote the security of the island, and the dignity of his person. He also intreated him to bury in oblivion all the injuries received from Albuquerque, and henceforth to look upon the Portuguese as his friends and allies. With regard to the defence of the island, he added, that he knew the king of Ormuz was surrounded with many enemies, against whom he hoped the Portuguese would be a safeguard. But that they might live more securely in the island, and be more enabled to defend the city, he said there was great necessity for some fortress, which would be no less serviceable to the king himself than to the Portuguese. He therefore begged he might be allowed to finish the fort which had been begun by Albuquerque. Coje Atar made answer, That he would punctually perform what he had promised to Albuquerque; but that he would not permit the fort to be built. He accordingly paid fifteen thousand ducats, as the tribute which had been settled. He then invited Lemos ashore, with the rest of the officers, and treated all the Portuguese in a most polite manner. Lemos not having a sufficient strength to carry his designs by force, was therefore obliged to stifle his resentment. Having remained in this place two months, for the season of the
year

year would not allow him to depart sooner, he then departed from thence, and sailed for Mascate; from whence (as above mentioned) he dispatched Vasco Sylveire for India, to desire a reinforcement of ships from Almeed. He touched next at the island of Socotora, where he contracted a distemper from the unwholsomeness of the marshy soil; so that for the recovery of his health he returned to Melinda.

Albuquerque, who by this time had come to the government of India, sent Antony Noveiro to recal Alphonso Norhona. He likewise sent a letter to Lemos, informing him, that he had been lately so much distressed by the zamorin, and the other enemies of the Portuguese, who always watched every opportunity to harras them, that he durst not therefore, at that time, venture to lssen his fleet: but as soon as these disturbances were settled, he said he would come himself to his assistance; for he had formed a design of sailing to the Arabian sea, to engage the sultan's fleet, which he had been informed was to be there in a short time. This report, however, proved groundless.

When Noveiro arrived at Ormuz, Lemos was not yet returned from Melinda. Mean while Francis Peireire Berred, and Alphonso Norhona, having gone aboard Noveiro's ship, went to sea, to try what booty they could find. They took one very large richly laded ship, belonging to Cambaya. Elated with this success, they resolved to wait no longer, and accordingly sailed for India. After they had passed Baticale, they met with a most boisterous storm, and the pilot of the prize being an Arabian, steered her to the port of Dabul, where she run upon the shelves, and was dashed to pieces. The Portuguese were made prisoners, and carried to Zabaim. Noveira being harrassed by the same storm, attempted to make the port of Daman, but his vessel was likewise shiprecked. Alphonso Norhona, as we have related above, and some others, having jumped into the sea, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming; but all of them perished: those
who

who remained aboard were made prisoners by the king of Cambaya. Francisco Pantoia, who had likewise been sent to Socotora by Albuquerque, in his way thither, took a large ship called Meris. She had suffered greatly in the late storm, and was commanded by a near relation of the king of Cambaya. When Pantoia reached Socotora, Duarte Lemos was then returned from Malinda: he claimed the Meris as his right, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made by Pantoia, because she had been taken in those parts which were under his jurisdiction. He therefore took the ship, and all her cargo into his power.

Lemos sailed thence to India, where he was received in the most honourable manner by Albuquerque, who used all possible means to procure his affection and esteem; yet, notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could not succeed. When he communicated to him his design of storming Goa, Lemos did indeed promise him his assistance: but privately he run down this resolution, and detracted from the reputation of Albuquerque, by saying that Goa could not be taken; or even if it could, it would be of no service to the Portuguese. This kind of discourse was very grateful to many, and might have raised great dissensions, had not Albuquerque, partly by dissimulation, and partly by complaisance, checked the growing evil: for he omitted nothing to soften this envious or ambitious man. However, he could not prevail on Lemos to perform his promise; for he would not give him the least assistance to carry on the expedition against Goa. But it happened, by a lucky chance, that these seeds of contention were happily removed; for soon after Goa was taken, there came ships from Portugal, with letters from Emmanuel, wherein Lemos was ordered to deliver up his ships to Albuquerque, and return to Portugal.

In the mean time Albuquerque began to think of procuring a redemption of the Portuguese captives. As Aleacam, the commander of the ship taken by Pantoia,

Pantoia, was a near relation of the king of Cambaya, and very much in his majesty's esteem, he thought the matter might therefore be very easily accomplished, as he had such a man in his power. He therefore communicated the affair to Aleacam, and dispatched a merchant to Cambaya, to treat with the king about giving up his relation, on condition he would surrender the Portuguese who were in his custody. The matter was accordingly agreed upon; and the king sent Diego Correa, and Francisco Pereire, in order to settle the affair; who bound themselves by oath to return if they could not bring it to a conclusion. From these men Albuquerque learnt the fate of Norhona, his sister's son.

After the departure of Lemos, he was freed from a deal of uneasiness; for this man used to oppose him in all his measures. He now enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, and wholly applied himself to establish the state and government of Goa. He was at vast pains to promote marriages betwixt the Portuguese and the women of that country. He called the soldiers his sons, and their brides his daughters. He was commonly present at the nuptials, and behaved on such occasions with great liberality; so that in a short time many more marriages were celebrated than could be expected in this new city, (for such we may call it, since the customs and manners were intirely new modelled). He was no less assiduous in strengthening the fortifications, and settling every thing which might tend to the order and establishment of the government.

Ambassadors now came to him from most of the princes in India: some brought their tribute, others came to sue for peace and friendship with the Portuguese, and all of them promised loyalty and attachment to Emmanuel. Albuquerque detained them some time at Goa; for he was willing they should behold the fortifications of the city, the formidable fleet, and all his grand structures, that being struck with the magnificence of his works, they might remain faithful to

Emmanuel.

Emmanuel. They beheld Albuquerque with a kind of veneration; some admiring his majestic dignity, whilst others were no less taken with his civility and polite behaviour. This resort of ambassadors, and concourse of persons of distinction, whom Albuquerque received in a most pompous manner, formed an appearance of a court at Goa, equal to that of the greatest monarch. Albuquerque was naturally fond of grandeur and magnificence; and at this time affected it in an extraordinary degree, that he might inspire these eastern nations with the highest ideas of his greatness; for he knew nothing struck them more than outward splendor. Besides, by his keeping the ambassadors for some time, he gained this advantage, that in the mean while he fortified the island, and surrounded it with a numerous body of troops; being desirous to give all who came to Goa, a proof of his strength, as well as knowledge in warlike affairs.

Zabaim Idalcam still formed schemes for retaking the island. His general Melich Agrieio, at the head of a considerable army, made an invasion; but was repulsed with great shame and loss. About this time Albuquerque sent Diego Ferdinand de Beja, with three ships to Socotora, to destroy the fort, and take the men aboard: for he thought it was exposed to great dangers, and of very little service to the Portuguese.

Mean while Diego Mendez Vasconcelo, waited on Albuquerque, and after having recounted his late services, desired he would order a fleet to be got ready, that according to his instructions he might sail for Malacca. Albuquerque endeavoured by all possible means to dissuade him from this expedition; telling him, it was his opinion, and in this he had the approbation of all the officers, that it would be highly absurd for a man of his gallantry to run headlong into such manifest danger, with so little prospect of advantage. Besides, that he himself intended to sail against the sultan's fleet, and it would be extremely dangerous, at the same time, to venture upon two such bold undertakings:

takings: nor could he furnish him with a sufficient number of ships to carry on the expedition against Malacca; for it was an affair that could not be executed without a most formidable fleet. He therefore earnestly entreated, and conjured Vasconcelo to sail along with him, that by his bravery the enemy might be the more easily defeated: and as soon as this war was finished, he might then return to Portugal with such marks of honour and distinction, as his high merit deserved.

Vasconcelo received this answer with the highest indignation, complaining that he was imposed upon in the grossest manner. However, since he had met with so bad a requital for his services, he declared he would still go to Malacca, notwithstanding all their opposition. For he said he had not come to India to act under any Portuguese commander, but to perform the orders of his royal master. Albuquerque finding him not to be worked on by entreaty, thought to deter him by menaces; and declared he would punish with the utmost severity, all those who dared to quit the harbour without his leave. But, notwithstanding all these threats, Vasconcelo with some more officers weighed anchor, and sailed in the night. As soon as the viceroy was informed of this, he dispatched some of his galleys and long-boats, with a detachment of men, to order Vasconcelo and those who accompanied him, to return; and upon refusal, to sink their ships. These accordingly followed with great expedition; and Vasconcelo not complying, they began to batter his ship with great fury. They brought down her main-mast, killed two of the sailors, and threatened to destroy every soul aboard, if Vasconcelo did not immediately return to the harbour. Thus forced by necessity, he at last returned to Goa, where he was put under confinement. A council of war being held on this occasion, it was resolved he should be sent to Portugal in fetters: one of the officers named Jerome Cernich, who had been extremely active in this affair, and had shewn an extraordinary contempt of Albuquerque's orders, was
condemned

condemned to have his head struck off: the rest of the officers were ordered to be hanged. Two of them accordingly suffered death, and the others would have undergone the like fate, had they not been saved by the intercession of the king of Narsingua and Cambaya's ambassadors; who being solicited by the Portuguese nobility, petitioned Albuquerque in behalf of these unhappy persons. He accordingly gave them their lives, but deprived them of their commissions, and sent them home to Portugal. Thus by his severity he established the authority of his government; whilst, at the same time, he became beloved for his lenity, and very much gained the affections of the ambassadors, who acknowledged his indulgence as the highest favour.

The affairs at Goa being thus settled, and the island fortified with a strong garrison, Albuquerque set sail from thence with a fleet of twenty-three ships. He steered to the west towards Arabia; but having met with contrary winds, he was put back again to the port of Goa. The wind continuing in the same quarter for a considerable time, prevented him from going in quest of the sultan's fleet. At this time he called a council of his officers; where it was resolved, as the wind was fair for Malacca, to sail for that country. He accordingly steered for Cochin, where he left Petre Fonseca de Castro, Menendez Alphonso, Simon Vetulio, and Antony Sala, with a number of ships. He appointed Emmanuel Lacerda, admiral of this fleet, and ordered him, as soon as the spring began there, which is in the month of August, to cruize on the coast of Calicut to annoy the enemy as much as possible; and that he should likewise guard the coast of Goa, to prevent any invasion from the enemy in his absence. He then proceeded on his course with nineteen ships, having aboard eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indians. Before he reached Cape Comorin, he took a ship of Cambaya. After he had doubled this Cape he met with a most boisterous storm,
in

in which he lost one of his galleys, but the crew was luckily saved. Soon after he took three more rich prizes, bound for Malacca. He then made the island of Sumatra, and anchored his fleet in a port belonging to the king of Pedir. This prince sent him as a present, a Portuguese ship, with some of our people aboard. These had been left by Sequeira at Malacca; and having fled from thence, came under the protection of the king of Pedir. One of them, whose name was John Viega, gave Albuquerque an account of a late disturbance which had happened at Malacca. A conspiracy had been formed against the king by the bendar, but his majesty having discovered the plot, put him to death as a traitor. Nehoadá Beeguea, who had been a bitter enemy of Sequeira and his men, was likewise an associate in this affair; and would have suffered the same fate with the bendar, but conscious of his guilt, he fled and took up his residence in Pacem, a kingdom in the island of Sumatra.

Albuquerque having entered into a treaty of friendship with the prince of Pedir, went next to Pacem: there he had a conference with the king, whom he earnestly entreated to deliver up Nehoadá Beeguea. This he promised to do; but so far was he from performing his promise, that he secretly gave notice to Nehoadá to make his escape. Albuquerque, however, made likewise a league with this prince, and then set sail from his dominions. A few days afterwards he spied a large ship, which he attacked. Those who were aboard made a most obstinate resistance; twenty of them were killed. But when our people were hastening to board her, the ship appeared suddenly all in flames, which not a little startled the Portuguese, and obliged them to keep at a distance. This, as it was afterwards found, was an artificial flame, which did no damage, and could be extinguished at pleasure. Soon after, our people spied another ship. Albuquerque dispatched some of his officers in long-boats to pursue her. The greatest part of the sailors were so much frightened,

frightened, that they threw themselves headlong into the sea. Nehoada was aboard this ship, and was then sailing for Malacca, to give intelligence to the king of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet; thinking that by this piece of friendship he might be reinstated in his majesty's favour. As he now perceived his destruction to be inevitable, he was resolved to die gallantly with his servants rather than fall into the hands of our people, to become a cruel sacrifice. He accordingly fought with so much obstinacy, that every one of the Portuguese present at this engagement, was wounded. All the enemy were killed. Nehoada fell, after having received several wounds; and to the astonishment of all the spectators, not one drop of blood could be seen on his body. But no sooner had they taken off his golden bracelet, than the blood suddenly gushed forth from many places. The Indians explained this mystery, by shewing our people a stone set in the bracelet. This stone, it seems, is taken out of an animal, called by the Siamese, Cabris; and has this particular virtue, when worn on the body, that it prevents the blood coming forth from the most grievous wounds. Our fleet having proceeded a little way farther, took two other ships; one of which came from Malacca. The prisoners taken aboard told them that Roderick Aravio, and the rest of the Portuguese left at Malacca, were still alive and in good health. It was now the third day since our people had encountered the ship, which was saved by the artificial flame, when the same vessel appeared again in sight. Two of her men immediately jumped into a piroa, and made directly for the admiral's ship. Being permitted to come aboard, they addressed Albuquerque in the following words: ' If
 ' fame speaks truth, Sir, we cannot allow ourselves to
 ' think that you would have attacked our ship, had
 ' you known the cause in which we were embarked.
 ' Think not that we are pyrates: if such, we should
 ' deserve the highest punishment. Nor are we mer-
 ' chants, who by the riches of our cargo might pro-

‘ voke the avaricious. Our merchandize is arms, and
‘ the goods we prize most are honour and bravery.
‘ We have heard, Sir, that you are the general of a
‘ most illustrious and invincible prince: nor are we ig-
‘ norant of the many proofs you have given of your
‘ intrepidity and resolution in punishing the wicked,
‘ and defending the innocent. Induced therefore by
‘ the fame of your actions, we without fear come be-
‘ fore you as suppliant, hoping you will shew some
‘ compassion on an unfortunate prince, who has been
‘ robbed of his crown by the artifice of a designing
‘ villain: we mean Zeinal, the lawful king of Pacem,
‘ who was driven from his kingdom; and treacherously
‘ supplanted by the present tyrant. This unfortunate
‘ monarch is at present aboard our ship. We are his
‘ soldiers, who from a sense of duty and fidelity have
‘ accompanied our royal master, and are ready to sa-
‘ crifice our lives for his honour and dignity. We
‘ were at present bound for Java, to solicit the assist-
‘ ance of the inhabitants of that island. But when
‘ our-prince saw the Portuguese fleet, and knew it to
‘ be such, he then concluded he had no occasion to
‘ crave assistance from any other people. For if the
‘ name of a distressed king will move other nations,
‘ much more certainly will it touch you, who never re-
‘ fuse to encounter the most horrible dangers for the ho-
‘ nour of your prince. Our king therefore relying on
‘ your virtue, and love of justice, implores your assist-
‘ ance to re-establiish him on his throne. This will be
‘ an action truly laudable, and worthy of the Por-
‘ tuguese; thus will you add still a greater lustre to
‘ your name, and for ever gain the affections of a
‘ prince who can never forget such a piece of generous
‘ kindness.’ Albuquerque was highly pleased with
this embassy, and sent Ferdinand Petre Andrade to
wait upon the prince: and as he heard his majesty la-
boured under an indisposition of body, he went him-
self and paid him a visit. He made a peace with
Zeinal, and entered into a treaty, the conditions of
which

which were, That if the Portuguese recovered this prince his kingdom, he was to become tributary to Emmanuel, and every year to pay a certain quantity of gold, as an acknowledgment of this obligation.

Albuquerque having taken Zeinal aboard his own ship, now steered for Malacca. On the first of July 1711, this fleet came to anchor at a little island about a cannon shot from Malacca. In this place there lay at the same time several other ships: these being alarmed at the approach of our people, endeavoured to make away with all possible haste. However, their fears were intirely removed when Albuquerque made a publick proclamation, that he came as an enemy only to those who should offer him hostilities. Of these ships five were Chinese; the captains of which waited on Albuquerque, and informed him, that the king of Malacca, having been apprized of his intentions, had made formidable preparations. They promised likewise, in case of a war, to give our people all the assistance in their power; for they were highly offended at the behaviour of this perfidious king, and not a little attached to the Portuguese. And, in order to enforce these friendly professions, they recounted the services they had done to Sequeira. Albuquerque invited the Chinese to an entertainment; where they drank plentifully, and were extremely chearful.

Next day the king of Malacca sent deputies to congratulate the viceroy on his arrival, and at the same time to clear himself of the mischief done to the Portuguese. This he charged wholly on the bendar, who, he said, had suffered death for his villainous behaviour. As for himself he was extremely desirous of a peace, and would be glad to establish it on just and honourable terms. Albuquerque answered, that this proposal was to him very agreeable: but that he might be convinced the king was sincere, and really disapproved of the unjust treatment of Sequeira and his men, he desired as a proof thereof, that his majesty would allow the Portuguese in his custody to be at

liberty, and make a restitution of the goods taken from them. To this the king replied, that the Portuguese were scattered into many parts, and that several of them had embraced Mahometanism, whom, according to the laws of this religion, he could not deliver up to Christians. As to the goods, he said they had been taken without his knowledge, but that greatest part of them had been consumed in the maintenance of the Portuguese. By these and such like evasive answers, Albuquerque discovered the artifice of the king, who intended only to amuse him with false hopes, that he might by this means destroy our people with the greater facility. The viceroy was likewise informed by a letter from Aravio, and he heard it also from several merchants, that the king every day expected a formidable fleet. This he waited for, that he might thereby be enabled at once to attack our people from the main sea and the harbour. He had in the city nine thousand pieces of iron and brass cannon. His army was numerous, and well furnished with all manner of warlike stores. Yet that he might act with still greater security, he chose to wait for the fleet.

Albuquerque did not think proper to proceed suddenly to hostilities, for he wanted to make it appear evident to all who traded to Malacca, that he was, much against his inclination, forced to a war by this deceitful prince. Zeinal concluding this delay to proceed from fear, was extremely diffident of our people, and in the night deserted to the king of Malacca.

The following day Albuquerque formed a scheme of burning the enemy's houses on the shore and in the suburbs. He sent the bravest of his men on this enterprize; they accordingly, though not without great opposition, executed their orders, and likewise destroyed three ships of Cambaya. This sudden conflagration filled the whole city with terror. The king was so much alarmed, that he directly sent Aravio and the rest of the Portuguese to Albuquerque: he still affirmed,

firmed, he desired nothing so much as peace, and earnestly entreated the admiral to allow the fire to be extinguished. Albuquerque accordingly complied with his request. Aravio, however, told him, that the king was void of faith and honour; and that he would not stick at the basest arts to carry on his wicked purposes: that at present he only wanted to prolong the time till the fleet should arrive, which he intended to join with that in the harbour. He had likewise laid an embargo on all the ships, designing, if necessity required it, to use them also. Albuquerque put no restraint on the Chinese ships; he only desired the captains to remain, that they might be spectators of the engagement. He then dispatched a messenger to the king, to beg, that his majesty, if desirous of a peace, would assign a proper place where a fortress might be erected, as a defence for the Portuguese against any future violence. The king pretended to agree to this request; but all proved dissimulation. Albuquerque therefore resolved to have recourse to arms. In order to know the strength of the city, and what defence the inhabitants would make, he made a feint next morning, as if he had been about to begin the attack. By this contrivance he found the chief defence to be a bridge, near which stood a mosque or temple; and that if he could carry this, he might soon become master of the city. He accordingly resolved to begin the assault on that part. The following day he advanced towards the city with a galley, and some of his lowest deck ships. The enemy flew from all parts, and endeavoured to hinder our people from landing. They kept a continual firing with their artillery as well as small arms, and the dispute for a considerable time was fierce and obstinate. The Portuguese, however, having forced their way through fire and darts, at last gained the shore. Albuquerque drew up his men in two bodies: one he gave to Ferdinand Petre Andrade, and John de Lima, with orders to attack that part of the bridge near the mosque; the other he reserved for himself, to make

an attempt on that part adjoining to the city. Both of these stations were strongly fortified, and defended with a numerous body of soldiers, who kept such a continual firing, that the bullets flew amongst our people as thick as hail-stones. This must certainly have filled the Portuguese with the utmost consternation, had they not been transported with the most ardent desire of glory; and so much inured to danger, that they were now become void of fear. They rushed on the enemy in the most undaunted manner, who for some time made a stout resistance, but were at last obliged to give way. The enemy first deserted their posts on that part which was attacked by Albuquerque, who pursued them with great resolution. Simon Andrade was the first man that mounted this station, and John de Lima first ascended the other. Our people continued the pursuit till they came up with the king's body guards, when the enemy, animated by the presence of their sovereign, made a stand.

The king, attended with several of his domesticks, rode in a turret on the back of a large elephant. Several of these animals followed the first, all armed and equipped in the same manner. A great number of arrows were thrown from the turrets upon our people. These elephants had swords fixed to their teeth; they rushed on the Portuguese with so much fury, that they threw the van guard into the utmost disorder. But Ferdinand Gomez Lemo, and Vasco Ferdinand Coutign, kept their ground without fear. Having placed themselves on each side of the way where the first elephant was to pass, they thrust their spears into his sides as he went along. The elephant though at first extremely fierce, yet is unable to endure pain, and when wounded is apt to turn upon its masters. Accordingly this creature, which was pierced through, immediately overthrew its rider, and trampled him under feet. The king being frightened, jumped down immediately. The wounded animal distracted with pain, turned upon the rest of the elephants,

phants, and drove them away in such disorder, that all the art of their managers could not bring them again to the engagement. The Portuguese, being now freed from the apprehensions of these terrible animals, pressed on most furiously. The enemy on the other hand animated by the presence of their prince, and knowing that their all was at stake, fought with amazing intrepidity. The king received a wound in his hand, which was so extremely painful that it obliged him to retire. As soon as his men understood this, they gradually retreated to a hill near the palace. There they withstood our people with great resolution. The Portuguese, however, were in great danger in another quarter; for Albuquerque was almost surrounded by a numerous body of the enemy. But John de Lima, having left such a number of men, as he thought sufficient to guard the bridge, hastened to his relief, and charged the enemy with so much fury, that he drove many of them headlong into the river.

Albuquerque being thus rescued from imminent danger, encouraged his men again to renew the fight. He accordingly ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and led on his soldiers against the enemy, who at first made a gallant defence, but were at last routed. The general having made himself master of this station on the bridge, placed a strong guard there, threw up a ditch and rampart, and entrusted it to the care of Nunez Vasco Albicastro, and George Leo. He attempted, in the same manner, to carry that part of the bridge towards the mosque and palace. But there he met with so warm a reception, that he could not accomplish his design. The fight lasted from day-break till noon. Albuquerque being afraid that those whom he had stationed on the bridge might receive hurt from the neighbouring houses, he therefore ordered them to be burnt. The fire reached the mosque and palace, and consumed the greatest part of them. It was now the height of noon, and our people were quite faint with their excessive fatigue. Albuquerque

therefore drew them off, being resolved, when they were properly refreshed, to enter the city with all his forces. The particular number of the enemy which fell in this affair, cannot be assigned, but it is certain their loss was considerable. Our people took likewise fifty of their cannon. Of the Portuguese thirteen were killed, and seventy desperately wounded. Many merchants left the city that night. The young prince, who had been lately married to the king of Malacca's daughter, followed their example. His consternation was so great that he forgot the charms of his bride, and betook himself to flight.

There was at this time in Malacca one Atimataraja, a merchant of Java, who had resided there for many years, a man of great renown for his wealth and power. This person having been an eye witness of the engagement, was transported with the behaviour of the Portuguese. He waited on Albuquerque with presents, and desired he might be accepted of as a subject to Emmanuel; he said he would always acknowledge him as his prince, and be ready to serve and obey his generals. He was accordingly received into the friendship of the Portuguese. The Chinese captains likewise waited on the admiral, and congratulated him on his late success: as they were now about to depart, the viceroy supplied them with provisions, and gave them several presents. He sent along with them one of the Portuguese, who having been left at Malacca with Aravio, understood the language of the country. His name was Duarte Fernando: he was to be landed in the kingdom of Siam; for Albuquerque being desirous to procure the friendship of so powerful a monarch, sent this man to wait on his majesty, and to endeavour to gain him as a friend and ally to Emmanuel. Fernando carried with him a sword of the finest workmanship, the hilt and handle of which were made of gold, together with a belt equally curious. This he was to present to the king, in the name of Albuquerque.

Our people spent this night in refreshing themselves after their fatigue, and in making preparations for the ensuing engagement. The king of Malacca now stationed his soldiers more in the heart of the city, and such places as he thought our people would most probably attack; these he fortified more strongly with men, as well as cannon. In one part he drove into the ground iron nails dipt in poison, with the points uppermost, to destroy our people when they advanced. For the nature of the poison was such, that as soon as the blood was touched, the infection penetrated into the very bowels. The viceroy was informed of these preparations by one Ninachet, a warm friend of the Portuguese. As Albuquerque considered the bridge to be an affair of great consequence, in order to succeed in his attempt he devised the following contrivance. The ship which belonged to Zeinal being very large and strong, he furnished it with guns and all manner of warlike stores; then he covered the sides with bags of cotton, so that it could by this precaution, without being damaged, receive the cannon bullets. This being stationed close to the bridge, would be as a fort against it. The vessel, however, could not be carried down so far, unless in high tides: Albuquerque was therefore obliged to wait for a full moon, and the tide every day increasing, the ship was carried down farther and farther.

Mean while the enemy were continually at work. They prepared wooden machines, which they filled with oil, pitch, and other combustibles: these they sent down the river, in order to destroy the ship. But our people having got into their pinnaces and long-boats, with grappling hooks turned these machines to the opposite side of the river. The ship, however, was battered night and day by the enemy. Antony Abreu, who commanded her, was pierced through in both cheeks by a bullet. Albuquerque thinking him unable to perform his duty, sent another officer to supply his place. At this Antony was moved with indignation.

‘ Think

‘ Think not (said he) whilst I have strength in my
‘ limbs, and vigour in my right hand, that I shall
‘ quit the engagement. Nay, was I even wounded in
‘ such a manner, as to be confined to my couch, yet
‘ then I might give all necessary orders. I will not,
‘ therefore, whilst I have life in my body, allow any
‘ one to be put in my command.’ He accordingly
dismissed the officer, and himself performed his duty
with as much spirit as if he had received no hurt.

The tides being now high, the ship was brought
close to the bridge, notwithstanding all the opposition
made by the enemy. The next morning Albuquerque
having landed his forces before break of day, again
attacked the city. The fight that day was more fierce
and bloody than the former one: many were slain on
both sides, and great numbers most desperately wound-
ed. At last the station which defended the mosque
and the palace, was taken by our people; and the ene-
my in that quarter were driven to flight. Albuquer-
que, after great fatigue, had the like success in that
station which he attacked. Abreu had also cleared
the bridge. Thus the Portuguese having attacked the
enemy at once by land and water, after a severe con-
flict, routed them. The king, who was seated on an
elephant, came up with a reinforcement of three thou-
sand men: but as soon as he perceived all the posts in
the hands of our people, he then retired to his palace.
The Portuguese being so few in number, were afraid
to pursue him. Albuquerque now entered the mosque,
which he ordered to be guarded by those who had taken
it. Then he returned to the bridge: at both the en-
trances he placed stations; these he fenced with large
hogheads full of earth, ranged in order, and bound to-
gether. He placed there, likewise, a considerable num-
ber of cannon, and a strong body of soldiers. But the
enemy still annoyed our people with their missive wea-
pons, and wounded many of them when busy at these
works. The viceroy, therefore, sent out two detach-
ments,

ments, under the most able commanders. These he ordered to fetch a compass by different ways, and thus to attack the enemy on both sides at once. Several of the enemy were accordingly killed by this contrivance, and many saved themselves by flight. Albuquerque fixed on two houses not far from the bridge, in that part of the city which was the most frequented, and which he himself had attacked; these houses being flat roofed, he placed cannon upon them. Besides, he stationed several pinnaces and long-boats, with guns, in the most convenient parts of the river. For he did not imagine the war was finished, but made such preparations as if he expected the most bloody engagement. The following day he took the palace by storm: but the king deserted it the night before; having at the same time taken care, that all his most valuable moveables should be carried off. When the Portuguese soldiers entered the house, and found it stripped of every thing, they were so enraged at the disappointment, that they set the whole building on fire. Above three thousand of the enemy still remained in the city; these frequently attacked our people, but being generally repulsed with loss, they at last also deserted the town, which Albuquerque gave up to be plundered by his men; having only saved the houses and effects of Utemutaraja, Ninachetu, and those of the merchants of Java. The plunder was considerable; there were found above three thousand cannon, and the arsenals were furnished with all manner of warlike stores. All those things which might serve to repair the fleet, and fortify the city, were left untouched by the enemy. No silver nor gold which could be concealed, came into the possession of our men; yet Emmanuel's share of the booty, which was only a fifth part, was valued at two hundred thousand ducats; from whence it is plain, that if the king and merchants had not carried off their wealth after the first battle, the booty of this city would have been such as
might

might satisfy the most unbounded avarice. In all these engagements the Portuguese lost only eighty men.

The city being thus taken, Albuquerque thought proper to invite back all the merchants who had not taken up arms against our people; offering them liberty, and the use of their own laws. He appointed Utemutaraja, and Ninachetu, as rulers over the Arabians and Pagans, with proviso, however, that there could be appeals from them to the Portuguese magistrates. Having received intelligence, that the king had fortified himself about thirty miles from the city, near the river, he immediately detached a body of men to that place; who soon demolished the fortifications, and drove the enemy from thence. Here they got a considerable booty, and took seven elephants. Affairs being in this condition, Albuquerque set about building a fort with the utmost expedition. The ruins of the palaces and private houses, lately demolished, furnished materials. The number of hands employed, and the alertness of the general himself, soon brought the work to a conclusion. His mild and gentle behaviour induced great numbers of people to flock into the city daily. He made laws for their government, and coined money of gold, silver, and tin; with the arms of Emmanuel thereupon. This he settled as the current coin, and affixed a severe punishment on those who should make use of any other.

About this time the king of Malacca died of grief. Laffamen, who had been his admiral, seeing the city not only taken, but established on a new system of laws and customs, sent a messenger to Albuquerque, to offer his friendship and service. For (he said) he was now ready to encounter any danger, for the honour of Emmanuel, with no less zeal than he had shewn for that of his deceased master. This message was well received by Albuquerque; who in the kindest terms invited him to the city. But as there were several envious persons, who were afraid that if this man should

should return, some considerable post would be conferred upon him, these, therefore, out of a pretence of friendship, wrote to him, and persuaded him that Albuquerque was plotting his destruction.

In the mean time Duarte Fernando, who had been sent to the king of Siam, returned with a deputy from that monarch. Duarte had been received very graciously by this prince; who gave him at his departure, several valuable presents. The purport of the embassy from the king of Siam was as follows: ‘That he
 ‘congratulated Albuquerque on his late success, would
 ‘be glad to see the sovereignty of Emmanuel more and
 ‘more enlarged, and was highly pleased with the
 ‘thoughts of having so famous a people in his neigh-
 ‘bourhood: nor would he be wanting in any friendly
 ‘office in his power, which might tend to the honour
 ‘or advantage of Albuquerque, or the rest of the
 ‘Portuguese commanders.’ Albuquerque treated the deputy with the utmost respect; and sent by him to the king, a golden bowl, a sword in a golden scabbard, together with a diamond ring of great value. He at the same time sent several presents to his majesty’s mother. The kingdom of Siam comprehends almost all the north east of India; being bounded on one side by a large gulph, and the western confines of China, on the other by the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu. The king of Siam had likewise under his power a considerable part of Malacca. He was said to have twelve thousand elephants; four thousand of which were always ready armed, in case of any sudden emergency. Albuquerque being resolved to establish a lasting friendship with that prince, sent for this purpose Antony Mirando Azevede, and Duarte Cælo, with such presents as were suited to the grandeur of such a prince.

About this time another deputy arrived at Malacca from the king of Java. The presents he brought shewed his master to be a warrior: they consisted of spears, kettle drums, and pieces of embroidery; which re-

presented the king's warlike exploits. In like manner other ambassadors came from Sumatra, and also from the king of Pegu, whose dominions were very extensive; beginning at the river Ganges, and reaching a great way westward. Many other princes likewise sent deputies; some of them sued for peace and friendship, whilst others freely submitted themselves to the sovereignty of Emmanuel. All of them bestowed the highest encomiums on Albuquerque; and as a testimony of their regard, brought him many considerable presents.



B O O K VIII.

WHILST these things were transacted in Malacca, the Portuguese affairs at Goa were very much embarrassed. Zabaim Dalcam sent Pulatecam, with a body of three thousand men, mostly Turks, to invade those places which had been reduced under the power of Emmanuel. Melrao and Timoia, who were in the Portuguese service, went out to meet them with four thousand foot and forty horse. Pulatecam was at first routed, but having rallied his scattered forces, he fell upon Melrao and Timoia by surprize, and entirely defeated them. These two commanders finding that the greatest part of their army was cut off, and at the same time, that they could not levy another, they betook themselves to the king of Narsingua: Timoia was pardoned by that prince at the intercession of Melrao; but, if we may credit common report, he was afterwards, contrary to the rules of honour, clandestinely taken off by some of that king's tools. Pulatecam being elevated with this success, resolved to pass over into the island; but first of all he endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to a revolt. They, however, could not be prevailed on to commit such a breach of faith.

These things being discovered by Crisna, (a farmer of the public revenue, and one of the most wealthy of the inhabitants) he communicated them to Ravello, the governor of the city, who accordingly fortified the entrances to the island, and placed guards to repulse the enemy. Pulatecam, however, having taken the advantage of a dark stormy night, and being well acquainted with the river, crossed over with all his forces.

He, at the same, time took two Portuguese ships, with all their guns, and killed the men, who made a most vigorous resistance. Those of the inhabitants, who were stationed for the defence of the island, being alarmed, fled into the city. Pulatecam being resolved, if possible, to draw the Portuguese guards out of the city, devised the following stratagem. He ordered one of his men to repair to Goa, as a deserter. The person employed for this purpose, as he was instructed, went to Cojebeque, one of the principal officers in the city, and under a pretence of friendship, told him, ‘ That two hundred Turks having attacked old Goa, had been surrounded by the inhabitants : and if a strong reinforcement was sent, not one of them could escape.’ Ravello being likewise informed of this affair, sent Diego Ferdinand Fario, to examine into the truth of it; and in the mean time held himself in readiness, if there was occasion, to march next morning against the enemy. He asked Cojebeque his opinion of the matter, who replied, that he thought the author not worthy to be credited. But Ravello, hurried on by the heat of youth, and at the same time animated with a confidence arising from his former success, (for he had performed many great exploits) easily fell into this snare. Accordingly he did not wait for the return of Fario, but marched out of the city with thirty-five horse and five hundred Indians. The treacherous deserter having discovered the affair to some of the Indians, several of them stopped in their march. Ravello proceeded with so much expedition, that he did not observe this : but having reached the top of a hill, he then perceived that he had only thirty of the Indians, whilst, at the same time, the enemy seemed to be one thousand strong. Here he again asked Cojebeque his opinion, who answered, that he thought things had at present a very bad aspect. ‘ For (said he) the deserter is gone off; the enemy are much greater in number than he reported; our own men being affrightened, have not dared to come forward. In short, I cannot

‘ cannot help thinking, that this is a scheme framed for
 ‘ our destruction. Wherefore it is my opinion, that
 ‘ we ought immediately to march back to the city.
 ‘ But whatever course you may follow, I am resolved
 ‘ to accompany you with the greatest alacrity.’ Ravello, in like manner, asked the rest their opinion; but none of them made any reply; for they were afraid, if they had spoke their sentiments, these might be imputed to cowardice more than prudence. Ravello then called aloud, ‘ Come, fellow-soldiers, this day will
 ‘ make it appear how much bravery every man has in
 ‘ his breast.’ Emmanuel Cugna, a Portuguese of distinction, was not a little transported with this expression; so that he could not help crying out in a kind of rapture, ‘ This is nobly said; this pleases me.’ All of them immediately descended from the hill, and spurring on their horses, rushed up on the enemy with so much fury, that they drove them to the shore, where Pulatecam waited to receive the rest of his forces coming from the continent. He endeavoured to rally his men; but this he could not effect. The enemy were struck with such a panic, that many of them threw themselves into the sea, where they perished. By this time two hundred of the Indians, chiefly Malabars, had come up: these having joined themselves with the Portuguese, pursued the scattered enemy, of whom there were three hundred killed in this action.

Pulatecam fled with eighty Turks, and took shelter in an old ruinous building, situate on a hill, at no great distance. Ravello resolved to attack them sword in hand: Cojebeque endeavoured to dissuade him from this attempt; telling him it would be extremely dangerous to venture upon such an attempt, when Pulatecam was screened with walls, and accompanied with brave desperate men, who would encounter any danger. ‘ I am therefore of opinion, (said he) that we ought
 ‘ rather to annoy them at a distance with our darts.
 ‘ This is the most effectual way to destroy them; and
 ‘ this we may do without any danger.’ He accordingly

ly offered to go himself upon this enterprize. But Ravello flushed with his late victory, despised this wise advice, and went upon the exploit with fourteen of his cavalry, for the rest were gone in pursuit of the enemy. Pulatecam and his men, having sallied out from two different parts, attacked Ravello unawares, and killed him, after having wounded his horse with their spears. Emmanuel Cugna suffered the like fate for his rashness, and the rest were shamefully repulsed. The enemy, however, did not choose to pursue, lest they might fall into some new danger. They contented themselves with having killed two of our principal leaders, and having driven the rest to flight. That day gave us a memorable instance of the difference betwixt the compleat general, and the meer soldier; for Ravello, though a man of the most distinguished courage, yet gave so many proofs of his rashness, that most people condemned Albuquerque for giving him the government of Goa. Whilst, on the other hand, Cojebeque was no less celebrated for his prudence than bravery; for he fought with the utmost gallantry, and, at the same time, gave the most salutary advice; which, if Ravello had followed, he would have avoided the danger he run into. The rest of the men returned safe to Goa. Francisco Pantoia was chosen governor of the city by universal consent. However, he declined this honour. The excuse he alledged, was, in my opinion, the argument of a mean and narrow soul; for he said the affairs of Goa were in such a critical situation at present, that no wise man would choose to accept of such a government. The nobility and citizens then conferred it on Diego Mendez Vasconcelo, who accepted and entered upon his trust with great spirit and resolution. He was extremely active in making all necessary preparations for the defence of the city. He laid up all the provisions he could procure, raised fortifications, stationed his soldiers, and omitted nothing becoming the character of a careful active governor.

At this time Crifna desired that he and the other Indians without the walls might be admitted into the city; which was accordingly granted. There were now two hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indians in the city; a small force to withstand the hardships of a war and a hazardous siege. Besides, Pulatecam was master of the whole island; he had encamped at Benastar, a town situate upon the southern entrance to the island, and extremely convenient for the reception of provisions and reinforcements from the continent. Here he had built a very strong fort; this he garrisoned with soldiers, and fortified with all manner of warlike engines. From thence he intended to annoy the Portuguese in such a manner, as to oblige them to quit the island. He made several efforts to take the city, sometimes attempting to carry it by storm, and sometimes by stratagem, but all in vain; for Vasconcelo continually repulsed him.

About this time Francisco Bereire Berred, came to Goa with thirty Portuguese; and such was the scarcity of men, that Vasconcelo was even overjoyed at this small supply.

As Pulatecam had now remained a considerable time in the island without being able to effect his designs, Zabaim began to suspect his fidelity; nor were there wanting several who endeavoured to heighten this suspicion. He accordingly resolved to remove him from the command. For this purpose he pitched on Rozalcam, his sister's husband, a Turk of great valour and experience, and sent him to Goa with a body of six thousand men, to take upon him the command of Pulatecam's army. But Pulatecam, highly incensed at this affront, treated the orders of Zabaim with contempt, and refused to resign. Rozalcam, on the other hand, being resolved at any rate to gain his point, devised this scheme: He sent a letter to Vasconcelo; wherein he informed him, ' That the late hostilities committed by Pulatecam, ' had been done without the orders or authority of ' Zabaim: that he was therefore come with an army

‘ to punish the wickedness of this man ; and if Vasconcelo would lend him assistance, he would undertake to drive him from the island in a very short time, and then the Portuguese should be left in the quiet possession of Goa.’ He promised, at the same time, to restore those Portuguese, who, being ship-wrecked, had escaped to the port of Dabul, and were kept in custody by Zabaim. Vasconcelo was so simple as to be caught by this artifice of Rozalcam ; who being assisted by the Portuguese, soon after defeated Pulatecam : but so far was he from performing his promise, that he threatened Vasconcelo with fire and sword, if he did not quit the city.

The siege being now renewed with the utmost vigour, our people were involved in the greatest difficulties ; yet they withstood the assailants with so much vigour, that they became afraid to approach : but at last, a considerable part of the wall having fallen down, this gave fresh hopes to Rozalcam, who ordered his men to advance towards the breach. There the contest was fierce and desperate, and lasted till the evening. Many of the enemy were killed, and likewise some of the Portuguese army ; amongst whom was Cojebeque, who, when fighting very gallantly, was taken off by a cannon-bullet. Rozalcam finding he could not carry the city by open force, had recourse to other methods. He ordered the signal to arms to be often sounded in the night-time, and made a feint, as if he was about to assault the city. By this means he kept our people in a continual alarm ; so that many of them died by fatigue and want of rest. About this time, Machiad (who, as we have mentioned above, passed for a Turk, and commanded a troop of the enemy) sent a letter to Vasconcelo, advising him to lead out his forces to a certain place, as soon as he should hear the signal ; for (he said) it would be extremely easy for him to surprize a party of the enemy, who were always drawn up there when the trumpet sounded. Vasconcello accordingly followed this advice, and found the information

mation to be true. Many of the enemy were killed that night, and many driven to flight; and our people repaired the breach in their walls with incredible expedition.

In the mean time, the besieged were sorely afflicted with famine; for it being now winter, no ships could bring them relief, for at that season of the year the seas being almost impassable; and at the same time, Zabaim had blocked up all the passes to the island in such a manner, that no supply could come from the continent. There were some of the Portuguese, who not having resolution to bear these hardships, basely deserted to the enemy. Amongst these deserters, amounting to seventy, was Fernando Lopez, a man of noble descent: they went to Machiad, and were incorporated in his company. This man, in outward appearance, received them with great kindness and complaisance; but in reality he detested, and was grieved at their shameful behaviour. The base conduct of these apostates raised his indignation, and hastened his execution of a design, which he had had in his thoughts for a considerable time, of joining himself as a companion to those Christians who laboured under such severe hardships. He accordingly set out one morning early, accompanied with the Portuguese captives and deserters; who being unacquainted with his intention, followed him. When he had drawn by degrees very near the city, he stopt and made them a speech; wherein he set forth the heinousness and impiety of their crime, in thus breaking through the ties of religion, and the duty they owed to their country. He said it was the highest madness, in order to avoid the trifling hardships of this transitory life, to endanger our everlasting happiness; especially when it is considered that our steady adherence to virtue in this life will procure us eternal glory and felicity. His speech, however, though strong and pathetic, yet it had no effect on those deserters; who, notwithstanding his repeated intreaties, would not return to their duty. Machiad

and the captives then went by themselves into the city, where they were received by Vasconcelo, and the rest of the Portuguese, with the utmost demonstrations of joy and transport. The piety and zeal of Machiad, was in one particular strained to a very great degree, since it prompted him to commit a most inhuman action. He had two sons, whom he himself had baptized in the Christian faith. At his departure he was desirous to take them along with him; however, not being able to effect this, he chose rather to imbrue his hands in the blood of these infants, than leave them in the power of the enemy, to be trained up in the pernicious tenets of the Mahometan religion. He accordingly strangled them in the night. Rozalcam being enraged at the desertion of Machiad, pressed the siege with more fury than ever. Vasconcelo having received intelligence, that a party of the enemy was posted in a particular place, from whence they intended to batter the city with their largest cannon, sallied out upon them with eighty horse, and drove them to flight: he returned with all his men, a few being only slightly wounded. Rozalcam, struck with the boldness of our people, gave over all thoughts of taking the city by storm; his only hope now was to reduce it by famine. He would certainly have gained his point, had it not been for Francisco Berredo; who, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the watchfulness of the enemy, undertook to sail to Batical, to procure a supply of provisions. He sailed from Goa on the first of July, and executed this enterprize with so much expedition and success, that he returned this same month with twenty paraos, loaded with all manner of provisions. Our people being relieved by this seasonable supply, gained fresh spirits.

The besieged soon after received another addition to their joy, by the arrival of Ferdinand de Beja. This gentleman, according to his orders from Albuquerque, had sailed to Socotora. In his course thither, he had taken one ship. He waited for Albuquerque

a considerable time, near Socotora ; but finding, by his delay, that he could not expect him in Arabia that year, he then demolished the fort ; and having taken the men aboard, together with all the cannon, provisions, and warlike stores, he sailed for Ormuz, where he received the tribute money, and was treated with the highest marks of honour. Thence he directed his course for India, and arrived in Goa towards the latter part of August. His arrival there was matter of great transport to the Portuguese in that city ; for he brought with him one hundred men, stout and healthy in their constitution, and experienced warriors. Soon after came John Serran, and Pelagio Sala, from the island of Madagascar ; who likewise gave no small pleasure to our people at Goa. Their joy was still more heightened by the arrival of Emmanuel Lacerda ; who brought with him six ships manned with two hundred Portuguese, and furnished with a good store of provisions. He had been cruizing on the Malabar coast near Calicut, in order to intercept the enemy's ships. About the same time Christopher Britto arrived in this port. He had sailed from Lisbon on the 19th of April, in a fleet of six ships, commanded by Garcia Norhona, nephew to Albuquerque. Four of them had wintered at Mozambique, and only two had come to India ; one of which, commanded by Ayres Gama, got to Cananor ; whilst Britto, captain of the other, put in at Goa.

In the mean time Rozalcam, not in the least discouraged by these succours which our people had received, carried on the war with equal vigour. A battle was soon after fought, in which Britto led the van : the enemy was routed, and many of them killed in the flight. Rozalcam then resolved to act only on the defensive. He thought it sufficient to guard the island, and to fortify Benaster with all possible care. He accordingly furnished that fort with provisions, and all manner of warlike stores ; and fortified it with so strong and numerous a garrison, that there was no city

or castle belonging to Zabaim, which could be compared to this in strength and security. Mean while Melichiaz having heard that our people were afflicted by famine, sent two ships to Goa well stored with provisions of all sorts; declaring likewise that he would at all times be ready to shew his affection for the subjects of Emmanuel. This kindness was acknowledged with the utmost gratitude; and presents were sent to Melichiaz. The war now took a different turn; for our people made frequent excursions on the enemy, and were now thinking to storm Benastar.

Whilst these things happened in India, there had like to have been a rupture betwixt their Spanish and Portuguese majesties. There was at that time in Spain, one Petre Bastardo, a nobleman of great renown. This man was supposed to have been the author of the misunderstanding which happened after the death of queen Isabel, betwixt king Ferdinand and king Philip, his son-in-law. After Philip's death, Bastardo being afraid of the resentment of Ferdinand, fled over to the kingdom of Fez. There he contracted a very great friendship with Barraxa, a man the most celebrated for his bravery, as well as power, in that part of Africa. Barraxa, out of affection for Petre, interceded in his behalf with Ferdinand; who accordingly forgave him. Petre then returned to Spain, and, at the same time, brought with him a letter from Barraxa, who in the strongest terms advised Ferdinand to wage war against the kingdom of Fez, promising him also, all the assistance in his power; and, on condition he should be made king of Fez, he agreed to pay a certain yearly tribute, such as Ferdinand should appoint. This proposal was extremely agreeable to his Castilian majesty, who immediately sent back Petre Bastardo, with a letter to Barraxa. Petre, in his way thither, stopt at Alcazar Zeguer, a city under the power of Emmanuel, where he was entertained in the most hospitable manner by the governor Roderigo Soufa. Petre being asked by Soufa the reason of his leaving Spain so quickly, made

made answer, that he had again fallen under the displeasure of the king, by the malicious insinuations of some evil minded persons, and therefore going to reside again in Fez. Soufa, however, being a man of deep penetration, perceived somewhat inconsistent in Petre's words; and suspected there was some secret scheme in agitation. He accordingly detained Petre some time; and, in the mean while, privately stole away the letter he was carrying to Barraxa. Having transcribed it, he sealed it up again with the utmost care, and put it again in the same place whence he had taken it. After Petre's departure he dispatched a copy of this letter to Emmanuel. His Portuguese majesty was not a little nettled at the behaviour of Ferdinand, who was thus going to act contrary to the articles of treaty subsisting betwixt them; for by these it was stipulated, that the kingdom of Fez should be annexed to the crown of Portugal. He therefore resolved to send an ambassador, to dissuade him from his intended scheme. Ferdinand, in the mean while, was fitting out a large fleet; but the purpose for which it was designed, he kept a profound secret. He only gave out in general, that he intended to destroy the enemies of Christianity.

About this time Ferdinand received a letter from Pope Julian, informing him, that his holiness, together with the Venetians, the Switzers, and the emperor Maximilian, had entered into an alliance against Lewis king of France; at the same time desiring Ferdinand to come into this confederacy, otherwise the kingdom of Naples would be in great danger. This affair gave his Castilian majesty not a little uneasiness; he therefore, in order to secure his Neapolitan dominions, entered into the alliance. He, at the same time, invited Emmanuel to become one of the allies; but his Portuguese majesty peremptorily refused it: nay, at this very time six French ships, having come into the port of Lisbon, Emmanuel treated the commander in the kindest manner, and gave him a supply of provisions;

vifions. This, as it was reported, gave the highest offence to Ferdinand. But notwithstanding these secret animofities, yet things did not come to an open rupture betwixt them. The fleet which Ferdinand had equipped for Africa, being detained by the disturbances in Italy, this removed the anxiety which had filled the mind of Emmanuel. This same year Henry king of England, ſent ambaffadors to Portugal, to renew the old treaty of friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt the two crowns.

In the mean time there aroſe freſh diſturbances at Malacca; theſe, however, were ſoon quieted by the ſtrict diſcipline of Albuquerque. Utemutaraja, who, as we have mentioned above, entered into a treaty with our people; being a man of great wealth, and unbounded ambition, aimed at the ſovereignty. Before Albuquerque took Malacca, he had frequently attempted to dethrone the king, and ſeize the crown; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. He now thought he could accompliſh his deſign more eaſily under the government of Albuquerque; for he looked upon it as an impoſſibility to keep Malacca with a foreign force. Puffed up with his immenſe wealth, and at the ſame time relying not a little on his ſhrewd capacity, which he thought able to procure him any thing, he aimed at the ſovereignty, and already enjoyed it in imagination. But when he found that Albuquerque had ſettled the form of the ſtate, and diſpoſed of the places of preferment in a quite different manner from what he expected; and, at the ſame time, that ſo ſtrong a fort was built, he now ſaw he could not carry his deſign by open force, and therefore began to think of ſubtle expedients to bring about his villainous intentions. He ſent letters to the heir of Mahomed, who had been driven from the kingdom, perſuading him to make preparations for war; and, at the ſame time, promiſing all the aſſiſtance in his power, to expel the Portugueſe from Malacca. Such affairs as theſe are not eaſily carried on in privacy; for
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Several of these letters came soon after into the hands of Albuquerque, who communicated the matter only to Aravio. He was desirous to seize Utemutaraja; but as he was a man of so much power, this could not be done by any other method, than by decoying him into the citadel. Nor was this easily effected; for Utemutaraja was generally upon his guard, being conscious of his guilt; and, at the same time, having been informed that several complaints had been made to Albuquerque concerning his behaviour. It happened soon after, that a certain Persian solicited Albuquerque for a vacant place. The governor told this man, that he would confer no public office on any one, till he had first consulted the leading men in the state. He said he would therefore call an assembly of all the nobles, and would act according to their determination. The Persian being an intimate acquaintance of Utemutaraja, earnestly solicited him, together with his son, and son-in-law, to be present at this affair; for he thought that the interest of such persons would greatly influence Albuquerque in his favour. They accordingly consented; and this not only from a desire to serve their friend, but also from a principle of vanity; for it would have seemed a lessening of their honour not to be present on such an occasion.

As soon as Utemutaraja, his son, and son-in-law, (who were also concerned in the conspiracy) had entered the assembly, Albuquerque ordered them to be seized and fettered. He then ordered their trial to be brought on with the usual form, and appointed counsel for their defence. The chief articles of the impeachment were, That Utemutaraja had stirred up Mahomed's heir to levy war against the Portuguese; that he had corrupted Lassaman, and hindered him from performing his duty to Emmanuel; that he had been the chief contriver and promoter of the plot formed against Sequeira, and the cause of many of the Portuguese being barbarously murdered at that time; that by his means the Christians had been used
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in so inhuman a manner, that many of them, in order to avoid such usage, had renounced their religion; that his son, and son-in-law, being influenced by his authority, had become associates with him in his wickedness. Utemutaraja denied some of these articles; others he could not contradict, being convicted by his own writing. The charge being proved by the most strong and unquestionable testimony, he then became a suppliant, and implored mercy. But he and son together, with his son-in-law, being condemned to lose their heads, the sentence was accordingly executed in a public manner; and their houses were razed from the foundation, that there might be no monument left of such traitors. This strictness and severity very much raised the fame of Albuquerque; and contributed not a little to establish his authority. This was a signal proof to every one, that he was not only a man experienced in war, but that he also knew how to preserve peace by the justice of his administration.

Albuquerque having heard of the Molucca islands, sent three ships to survey them, under the command of Antony Abreu, who set sail from Malacca towards the end of December 1511, being himself desirous of hastening to India, citra Gangem, he appointed Patequitir to succeed Utemutaraja, as supreme magistrate over the Arabians. This man was a person of great wealth and authority: he had entertained a high resentment against Utemutaraja, because he had refused him his daughter in marriage, with whom he was desperately in love. Some time after his entrance to this office, he behaved with so much probity, that he became universally esteemed amongst the Portuguese. But his fidelity was soon after corrupted by the widow of Utemutaraja; who, being desirous to revenge her husband's death, promised him her daughter in marriage, with a considerable dowry, provided he would enter into war against our people. She, at the same time, promised to furnish him with six thousand brave soldiers; with which army (she said) if he was a man,
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he might easily cut off the Portuguese, dreaming nothing of the matter. Patequitir blinded with love, avarice, and ambition, went into this proposal. The marriage was accordingly consummated with the utmost secrecy. The next day he fired the most populous part of the city, and destroyed many of the inhabitants. Albuquerque being alarmed, flew to that quarter; and having attacked Patequitir, drove him to flight. This man encamped with his army at a place called Opi, not far from the city: here he fortified himself with a ditch and rampart, and planted his engines of war; from thence he made several incursions on the inhabitants of Malacca, but generally met with so warm a reception from our people, that he was at last forced to desist from these hostilities.

Albuquerque being now resolved to set sail, appointed Roderick Britto Pattalin, governor of the city and fort. He constituted Aravio master of the treasury; giving him likewise several secretaries for his assistance. He gave the charge of all naval affairs to Ferdinand Petre Andrade. He invested Ninachet with authority over all natives of Malacca, who were not of the Mahometan religion: this magistrate is called by the inhabitants Sabandar. He divided the Arabians into classes, according to their different countries; and to each of these he appointed a ruler: but he ordered that all should be subject to the jurisdiction of Britto.

In the mean while deputies came to Albuquerque from Zeinal. This prince declared that he had revolted from our people, from a fit of the utmost despair; for he said he looked upon it as impossible, that so small a force should have taken such a strong and wealthy city. But now, having received such proofs of their amazing courage, he could not help concluding them to be invincible in arms. He therefore earnestly entreated pardon for his fault; hoping the Portuguese would shew the world, that they excelled no less in lenity and compassion than martial bravery. Albuquerque accordingly forgave this prince, and received him

him again into his friendship and protection. When Zeinal came to the city, he renewed his petition, that our people would assist him to recover his kingdom. The viceroy promised his assistance; though, at the same time, he said he could not immediately set about it, being at present obliged to sail for Goa, to settle the affairs of that state; but that, upon his return, he would do his endeavour to re-instate him in his dominions. Zeinal, however, thinking that he was only amused by empty promises, departed again from the city with all his attendants.

Albuquerque sailed from Malacca with four ships, the rest of the fleet remained in that port with two hundred men aboard. He left likewise in the city three hundred Portuguese, together with some Malaccan and other Indian soldiers, whose fidelity he had experienced. When he came on the coast of Sumatra, a storm arose, which forced the fleet to put in at the first port they could make; but so violent was the tempest, and the sea ran so high, that the admiral being driven from her moorings, ran foul upon a hidden rock. The fore-castle was immediately sunk, but the other part of the ship lay upon the rock above water. Several of the men saved themselves by getting to the stern, others endeavoured to make the shore of Pacem, on casks and planks, but many of these perished. The pitchy darkness of the night, and the violence of the raging tempest, was rendered still more horrible by the most terrible thunder and lightening. The men were almost destitute of all hopes of safety. In this distress they could only rely on the Almighty power; and accordingly they put up to him the most fervent prayers and supplication. Albuquerque having observed a little boy almost drowned, saved him by taking him upon his shoulders; adding these words, ‘Relying upon the innocence of this helpless infant, I hope to escape from the present danger.’ In the midst of this distress Pedro Alpoem sent his long-boat; which being rowed with the utmost expedition, came in time to
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save Albuquerque, and the rest of the crew ; who were accordingly taken aboard Alpoem's ship. The vessel commanded by George Nunez Leo, was separated from the rest in the storm. Simon Martin Albuquerque, who was captain of the fourth ship, met with an unhappy fate. He had only aboard thirteen Portuguese, the rest of the crew were Indians of Java and Malacca ; these taking advantage of Simon's sickness, and the general distress of our people, rose up in arms, and murdered all the Portuguese, excepting four ; who getting into the long-boat, escaped to the coast of Pacem. The ship was driven into the port of Timia, on the coast of Sumatra, where she perished.

The storm being now abated, Albuquerque proceeded in his course. The number of men in Alpoem's ship being considerably increased, provisions began to fail ; but want of water was their greatest misfortune, and they would certainly all have perished, had they not luckily fallen in with two ships, loaded with water and provisions. Albuquerque put Simon Andrade, and fifteen Portuguese aboard one of these vessels : he detained the captain, and a few of the Arabians, by way of hostages. The pilot of this vessel being an Arabian, steered her into one of the Maldivé islands, which was full of the zamorin's troops : Andrade and the rest of the Portuguese had certainly been put to the sword, if the Calicutians had not been restrained by the fear of Albuquerque's sacrificing the hostages to his resentment. After having undergone various hardships, they came safe to Cochin. In the late storm many valuable things aboard the admiral's ship were lost ; but he regretted the loss of nothing so much as two iron lions of very curious workmanship, and the bracelet which stopped bleeding : these he intended to have presented to Emmanuel. Albuquerque arrived at Cochin in the beginning of February 1512. Having received certain intelligence of the state of affairs at Goa, he appointed Emmanuel Lacerda, to be governor of the city, and dispatched him
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to that island, with a reinforcement of soldiers in eight flying boats; and, at the same time, assured him, that he himself would come to his assistance in a few days. But Lacerda at his arrival, wrote back to Albuquerque, informing him, that there was no occasion for hurry, since the city was in a good posture of defence. He therefore advised him to wait for some ships from Portugal, that he might be in a condition to take Benafter by storm; for he thought it would be demeaning his dignity to come to the island, unless he had a sufficient force to carry on that exploit. Albuquerque followed this advice, and in the mean while made a strict examination into the conduct of the Portuguese at Cochin, during his absence. He ordered several to be bastinadoed for crimes they had committed: he inflicted punishment with great strictness; yet, at the same time, nothing gave him more uneasiness than that any of his men should have deserved such chastisement.

About this time Pedro Mascaregn, who sailed from Lisbon with Garcia Norhona, arrived at Cochin, who brought news that the rest of the fleet from Portugal would likewise be there very soon.

At the same time an embassador came from the king of the Maldive islands, desiring the friendship and protection of the Portuguese. This prince was willing to become subject to Emmanuel, and to pay an yearly tribute. A treaty was accordingly entered into betwixt him and Albuquerque.

But to return to the affairs of Further India. After Albuquerque departed from Malacca, the Indian inhabitants who had been in the Portuguese interest, were now in the utmost consternation. They thought that in his absence, they must certainly be all inevitably destroyed by their enemies. Their fears were still more encreased by a report which prevailed that Laffaman was coming with a formidable fleet against the Portuguese. Andrade thought it best to engage Laffaman before he reached the harbour, and accordingly set sail for that purpose. Patequitir having received

ceived intelligence of his departure entered the city in the night; he suddenly attacked and took a brigantine lying in the harbour, commanded by Alphonso Chiaigno, a very brave youth, who was killed after having made a most gallant defence: the rest of the men were taken prisoners. He found in this vessel a gun of the largest size, called a camel.

Andrade not having met with Laffaman's fleet, returned again into the harbour, and was now resolved to attack the fort, where Patequitir and his men were stationed. Being determined to carry on the assault at once by sea and land, he therefore dispatched Alphonso Persona with one thousand five hundred Indians, and a few Portuguese to march near the shore. He sent George Botello to begin the attack by water, whilst he himself followed with a considerable number of barks and pinnaces. Alphonso, at the same time, made an attack with his land forces, so that the fort was quickly carried, and the greatest part of the garrison were either killed or put to flight. When Andrade entered, he found a block all besmeared with fresh blood; this was the blood of a Portuguese captive, who being commanded by the enemy to point a cannon against Andrade, refused to comply notwithstanding their terrible menaces. Patequitir was so exasperated at his refusal, that he ordered him to be beheaded.

Whilst Andrade's forces were busy, some in plundering the enemy's camp, and others in conveying their guns aboard the ships, a body of four hundred Arabians drawn up in battalia appeared in sight. They brought with them three elephants, with turrets on their backs. In each of these there were twenty archers. George Botello, as he happened to be nearest, made the first attack on the enemy. He ordered his men to allow the first elephant to pass unmolested, and only to attack the manager. They accordingly opened a passage for the elephants, but at the same time they killed the manager with their darts. The animal

thus deprived of a guide, stopped short, and being soon after wounded in the breast by a bullet shot from Bortello's long boat, dropped down lifeless. The other two elephants were then thrown into the utmost disorder, and all the Arabians were easily routed. There were many rich ships in the river, which the Portuguese took and plundered.

Our people having been thus successful, returned into the city. Patequitir moved four miles from thence, and having pitched on a place more strong than the former by its natural situation, he surrounded it with a deeper ditch, and fortified it with a more numerous garrison, which he divided into four different stations. Andrade marched out, and attacked the first, which he easily took : but when he attempted the second, the person styled the king of Malacca, rushed out at the head of a considerable number of the enemy, and attacked our people with so much fury, that they were obliged to retreat. In this rencounter twelve of the Portuguese were killed, amongst these were Roderick Aravio, Christopher Malcaregn, George Garoia, and Anthony Azaved. Andrade and Pedro Fario, with several others, were likewise wounded.

Patequitir being flushed with this success, gave great hopes to the pretended prince of Malacca, who ordered Laffaman to join his fleet with that sent to his assistance by the king of Arguin, (a country lying to the southward, and adjoining to Malacca) and then to attack the Portuguese fleet in the harbour of Malacca. Andrade being apprized of their designs, sailed out of the harbour, and attacked Laffaman's fleet in the mouth of the river Muar. The fight was extremely hot, nor was it ended in one day. The Portuguese, however, at last gained the victory : many of the enemy were killed, many driven to flight, and several of their ships were burnt.

About this time three ships arrived at Malacca from Albuquerque, stored with provisions, and all manner of warlike implements, together with some engineers.

But notwithstanding this supply, our people at Malacca were still very much pinched for provisions. In order to remedy this calamity, Andrade sailed to the streights of Singapura (which is the southern boundary of Malacca, and divides it from the continent) there he took a ship belonging to Patequitir, loaded with provisions, which he brought to Malacca. He sent Lopez Azeved and George Botello to the same place, who returned with three more of Patequitir's ships, well stored with provisions of all sorts. George Gomez Cugna brought likewise another supply from the king of Pegu. About the same time Anthony Miranda, who had been sent ambassador to the king of Siam, returned to Malacca, having been treated by that prince in the most honourable manner.

Roderick Britto thinking that the present opportunity ought not to be neglected, fitted out a fleet to attack Patequitir now disheartened, and in great distress for want of provisions by the loss of the ships which our people had seized. He delivered the fleet to Andrade, who accordingly went against the enemy.

George Botello and Pedro Persona, who commanded the first line, attacked the enemy's stations, and after great slaughter, made themselves masters of them, and at last gained a complete victory. In this engagement one elephant was killed by Francisco Machiad, another was taken, and two more fled away: Patequitir being quite dispirited by this misfortune went over to the isle of Java with his family and effects. The pretended prince of Malacca betook himself to Bantam. Laffaman likewise sheered off, and left the seas uninterrupted to our people. After this success, Andrade returned into the city, where there now reigned peace and tranquillity.

About this time Anthony Abreu returned to Malacca: he had been sent to examine the Molucco islands; but this he was unable to do by reason of the stormy weather. He touched, however, at the island of Am-

boyna, from whence he brought some cloves. He went likewise to the islands of Banda, which lie a little more southward, and are five in number. The soil there produces vast quantities of the nutmeg-trees, the flowers or blossoms of which are not unlike those of the pear or cherry-trees. The tree itself not a little resembles the laurel. The natives are clownish and savage: they have a king, but him they oblige to resign, as often as they please; and they institute a senate or council of the oldest men, to be their rulers: in this manner they often change the form of their government. Francisco Serran was likewise driven by stress of weather amongst these islands, where he suffered shipwreck. He and his men, however, escaped to Ternate, the prince of which island treated him with great civility, and gave him many considerable presents.

Whilst these things happened in the more eastern regions, Albuquerque was making the most vigorous preparations for war, and Garcia Norhona, who wintered at Mozambique, was arrived at Cochin. George Melos Pereire, and Garcia Sousa, who had set out from Lisbon with a fleet of twelve sail, having had a quick passage, arrived likewise at Cochin much about the same time. In this fleet there were above two thousand Portuguese. Albuquerque now thought there was no time to be lost, and accordingly sailed for Goa with sixteen ships. Pedro Mascaregn governor of the fort of Cochin, declared he could by no means bear, that such an important affair should be carried on without his personal assistance; having therefore appointed another in his place, he himself went in the fleet bound for Goa. In the course thither, Albuquerque touched at Cananor, the fort of which place he entrusted to the management of George Melos, and settled several disputes betwixt the Portuguese and the Arabian merchants of that city, with the utmost justice and impartiality. Here he received a letter by a Jew, from the Portuguese belonging to George Quadra's

dra's ship, who being separated from Lemo's fleet by stress of weather, had suffered shipwreck, and were afterwards taken prisoners by the Arabians. The purport of this letter was, that the grand signior was about to build a fort at the mouth of the red sea, and that he intended to storm the city of Aden. When Albuquerque sailed by Onar, another Jew gave him the same information, telling him likewise, that he might very easily make himself master of Aden, before the grand signior sat down before it with his forces: for he said the inhabitants had revolted from this monarch, and he was sure they would much rather chuse to be under the mild government of the Portuguese, than the oppression of that tyrant.

Melrao came likewise to meet Albuquerque, and informed him that Zabaim was levying an army of twenty thousand men, to be a further security to the city and fort of Benastar. He therefore advised him to make all possible haste to attack the place, before this large army could be united with the garrison already in the town. Albuquerque accordingly sailed with the utmost expedition to Goa, and immediately begun the siege. The garrison played their cannon on our fleet with great fury: the ships suffered great damage, particularly from a culverine of the largest size which the enemy had in their possession: this, however, was luckily destroyed by the dexterity of a Portuguese engineer, who fired a ball from a mortar into the mouth of this cannon, and tore it to pieces. Albuquerque marched to the city, designing to go from thence with his forces to Benastar, that he might by this means block up the enemy by sea and land. But Rozalcam having drawn out two hundred and fifty cavalry, and a considerable number of foot, marched towards Goa. Pedro Mascaregn, Garcia Norhona, Emmanuel Lacerda, Lopez Vasco Pelagio, John Fidelgo, and Roderigo Gundiffalvo Camigna, with a body of soldiers went out to meet him. A battle ensued, wherein the enemy was routed: our

people pursued them into the town with great fury, and even attempted to scale the walls by help of their spears. Lopez Vasco Pelagio, and Pedro Mascaregn, greatly distinguished themselves in this action. The besieged from the walls threw all manner of weapons on our people: some were killed and many wounded. Emmanuel Lacerda being wounded with a stone, fell from his horse, and would have been killed, had he not been assisted by Pedro Decio. Great numbers of the Portuguese would certainly have been cut off that day, had their fury not been checked by the prudent Albuquerque, who drew them off when thus endeavouring to mount the walls with more bravery than discretion. Albuquerque having retired into the city, about two days afterwards drew out all his forces, leaving only a sufficient number by way of guard. His army consisted of three thousand Portuguese, besides a considerable number of Indians. The train of artillery, the covered galleries, and all other things necessary for carrying on a siege were drawn before the army. Our people after having encamped, began the attack by sea and land with great fury. But the affair was extremely dangerous and difficult; for the town was fortified with thick walls, on which there were many towers, from whence the enemy night and day poured their darts, and made great havock amongst our people. The Portuguese went on with amazing intrepidity; but the difficulties they had to encounter were unsurmountable, and all their utmost efforts proved ineffectual. In short, finding they could not carry their point by open force, they therefore resolved, if possible, to starve them to a surrendery. Albuquerque accordingly took all possible precaution to prevent any supply being conveyed into the town. The enemy were then reduced to the greatest extremity; for all their stock was almost exhausted by their great number, and at the same time all communication was cut off by our ships and land forces.

Rozalcam

Rozalcam being driven by necessity, was resolved to make a sally, in order to drive our people from the blockade. He accordingly sent out some of his best men, with the most gallant officers. He himself staid at the gate with a body of reserve to support them if there was occasion. This detached body of the enemy, accordingly rushed with undaunted courage upon the station commanded by Emmanuel Sousa Tavaris, who made a gallant resistance; but he was killed and all his men forced to retreat. Pushed on by hunger and despair, they fell next on Garcia Norhona's station, and drove the soldiers there likewise to flight: but Pedro Mascaregn coming up with his men, rallied the scattered Portuguese, and charged the enemy with amazing courage. The conflict was extremely obstinate on both sides, and was not only carried on with fire arms and spears, but also with swords, daggers, and their very fists. The enemy, however being unable to force their way farther, returned into the town, without receiving any considerable damage. Albuquerque, in order to provide against any future irruption of the besieged, drew a larger trench, and made a stronger rampart. The enemy being now reduced to the utmost misery by famine, sued for peace. This was accordingly granted, and the conditions were these: 'That they should deliver up all the Christian deserters. That they should likewise restore the two ships which they had taken in the pass of Nofoa at their entrance into the island. That they should surrender the town and citadel together with all their horses, arms, and engines of war, and all the ships in the island.' Albuquerque promised he would allow them to march out with all their other effects, and at the same time assured them, he would not put to death the Portuguese who had renounced their religion. These articles being punctually performed, the enemy passed over to the continent, and our people entered the town. Albuquerque did not indeed put to death the Portuguese renegado's, but, in order to

deter others from the like treachery, he inflicted on them a punishment more terrible than death itself: for he ordered their noses, ears, right hands, and left thumbs to be cut off, and in this condition to be sent to Portugal. Fernando Lopez was one of these unhappy wretches, but being a man of a noble family, he obtained, as a favour, that he should be left on the island of St. Helena. He sowed and planted this island with various fruits and trees, which afterwards became extremely serviceable to the ships putting in to water at that place.

This war being ended, Albuquerque dispatched Norhona to Cochin, first to get ready the fleet to sail for Portugal, and then to cruize along the coast of Calicut, to intercept every Arabian ship passing that way. He likewise sent Garcia Soufa with a fleet, to intercept all the ships loaded with Persian horses, and to oblige them to put in at Goa. He, at the same time, treated in the kindest manner, all those who came into this harbour: he also lowered the duties; so that the merchants being highly pleased with this generosity, began to drive on a considerable trade at Goa, in horses and all sorts of merchandize. Thus it happened, that this lessening the duties did not diminish, but considerably increase the revenue of Emmanuel. The fame of Albuquerque being spread over all India, many princes so much admired the heroick exploits of the Portugese, that they chose to become subject to Emmanuel: when under his protection they thought they should live free from the insults and oppression of other haughty tyrants. The king of Vengassor (an inland country, adjacent to the dominions of Rabaim) sent an embassador at this time to Albuquerque. That prince expressed the highest affection and esteem for the Portugese, and was extremely desirous of becoming a friend and ally to Emmanuel. He said, if there was occasion, he would assist in the war against Zabaim; that he would supply our people with provisions; and with the utmost zeal study to promote

promote the interest and dignity of Emmanuel. He, at the same time, desired he might be allowed every year to purchase three hundred horses, at the usual price. His request was accordingly granted; and the ambassador, at his departure, received many marks of honour.

Soon after two deputies came to Albuquerque from Zabaim Dalcam, suing for peace, and desiring liberty to buy horses, which he intended to make use of against the neighbouring nations. This favour was likewise granted to that prince, and Diego Fernando Fario was immediately dispatched to draw up articles of treaty. About the same time a deputy arrived from Melichiaz: he brought with him a ship loaded with provisions; and in the name of his master, congratulated Albuquerque on the reduction of Malacca. The viceroy expressed the utmost gratitude for this kindness; he dismissed the deputy with many presents, and forgot not to repay the kindness of Melichiaz in the most liberal manner. Another deputy came likewise from the king of Cambaya, bringing along with him the Portuguese captives; who was also treated in the same honourable manner. Albuquerque being informed, that the governor of Dabul kept in custody an ambassador, who was sent from the emperor of Abyssina to Emmanuel; he immediately sent to demand him. This was complied with, and the ambassador being conducted with great pomp to Goa, he was welcomed there by the priests, who sung joyful hymns at his entrance; for he brought with him a piece of the cross on which our Saviour suffered. This he intended to carry as a present to Emmanuel from his master. There came likewise an ambassador from the king of Ormus, who was also received, and dismissed with great civility.

Whilst these things happened in Goa, Garcia Norhona having, according to his orders, got ready the ships which were to sail for Portugal, was now cruising near Calicut, when he received a letter from Naubeadarim,

darim, heir apparent to the crown of Calicut. This prince, as we have already observed, always retained a favourable disposition towards the Portuguese. In his letter to Norhona he said, that if it was acceptable to Albuquerque, he could bring about a peace betwixt him and the zamorin; and that our people should be allowed to build a fort in the city of Calicut. Norhona sent notice of this to Albuquerque, who was extremely pleased with the proposal; for as he intended to sail to the Red Sea, he was for that reason desirous, that every thing should be on a peaceable footing in India. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the foundation of a fort was laid in that place where the royal palace formerly stood. Albuquerque set out on his voyage for the Red Sea, in the month of March 1712.

In the mean while the following things happened in Africa. Barraxa and Almandarin, having entered the territories of the Moors under Emmanuel, ravaged their lands, and destroyed all their corn. They likewise committed the like depredations on the confines of Arzila. They marched next to the neighbourhood of Tangier: this city was at that time governed by Duarte Meneze, who summoned a council, in order to consider what measures were most proper to be followed in the present juncture. The enemy had now advanced with great rapidity, and had fired several barns stocked with great quantities of unthreshed corn. The flames quite dispelled the darkness of the night; so that our people had a clear view of the enemy from their walls. Menez was extremely vigilant, and made all necessary preparations to hold out a siege, or to engage in the field. He sent out scouts to reconnoitre the enemy, and he himself by day-break, with a body of armed men, marched to one of the gates, where he waited their return. They accordingly brought word, that the enemy seemed to be very numerous, both in foot and cavalry, and were encamped behind some hills where they had posted guards. It would therefore,

fore, they thought, be highly imprudent, with so small a force, to attack an army elevated with success, and so much superior in numbers. Duarte had at that time only two hundred horse and three hundred foot; nevertheless he resolved to advance towards the enemy. Having accordingly ascended the hill, where he had a view of their numbers, the enemy retired, being resolved to draw Menez to some distance from the city; our people followed them gently. When they had marched about two miles, they halted and raised a loud shout. But Barraxa called out, 'This empty noise will avail nothing; the Portuguese are not thus to be frightened. If you have any hope of victory, let it be placed in bravery, and let me behold you face the enemy with undaunted courage, and engage them sword in hand.' Having spoke these words, he led on his soldiers to the engagement. The vanguard of the Portuguese consisted of sixty cavalry, and was commanded by Pedro Leitan, who had been sent before in the night. He stood the first shock of the enemy, but was quite overpowered by their numbers. Menez, who relied much on the gallantry of Leitan, thought he had no occasion to hurry, and accordingly advanced but slowly; being resolved to set upon the enemy when their ranks were disordered by the fight. Accordingly, when he saw occasion, he ordered his foot to attack them on one side, whilst he himself, with some horse, flanked them on the other. The battle was fought with great keenness on both sides, and continued above an hour; when the enemy's fury being somewhat abated, our people redoubled their vigour, and at last routed the Moors. Almandarin was the first who quitted the field; he fled with one hundred horse. Leitan pursued him, and would have killed or taken him prisoner, had not his cavalry been so much engaged in pursuit of the enemy's foot; whom they followed so eagerly, that they would not return, though frequently called on by Leitan. Barraxa behaved with great gallantry in this action. When he found his men in

a general consternation after the flight of Almandarin, he retired, but in such a manner as to preserve the order of his troops. Menez followed them twelve miles. But Barraxa having at last got to a narrow pass on a mountain, Menez then thought proper to withdraw his men from the pursuit. Above six hundred of the enemy fell that day; two hundred and forty were taken prisoners, amongst whom were the captains of the first line of Almandarin's corps, Barraxa's standard-bearer, and many other persons of distinction. Their standards and tents were likewise taken, and our people made a considerable booty. Barraxa himself had a very narrow escape; for his horse was killed under him, but another being quickly brought, he got off with safety. In this affair our people had only four killed and three wounded. Menez having been thus successful, returned into the city; where he ordered a public thanksgiving for this remarkable victory.

Nor did the garrison of Saffia enjoy quiet at this time; for the neighbouring Moors, spirited on by their chiefs, refused to pay the tribute they owed, and committed hostilities on those who remained faithful to the Portuguese. Our people, therefore, in order to protect their friends, and check the insolence of these rebels, were obliged to make frequent incursions on their territories. Nunnez Fernando Ataide, dispatched this year Lopez Barriga, a very able officer, to Dabid, (a town about forty miles from Saffia) to assist the inhabitants against the people of Xiatim. Dabid stands on a high hill in Xiatim, near the river Aguz. The inhabitants of Xiatim being much more numerous than those of Dabid, frequently attacked them in a hostile manner; and Barriga accordingly went to revenge these injuries. Soon after his return to Saffia, the people of Xiatim having received intelligence, that Jehabentaf was going round to demand the tribute due to Emmanuel, they got together eight hundred horse, with which they imagined they could easily overpower him. Jehabentaf was at that time in the castle of Mirabella,
with

with one hundred and sixty cavalry only : but as soon as he heard the enemy were approaching, he joined to his own men some of the citizens of Dabid, and advanced to meet them, notwithstanding he was so much inferior in numbers. Having accordingly attacked the Xiatimians, he drove them to flight, and took two of their chiefs prisoners. One of the principal inhabitants of Dabid, named Acum, having pursued the enemy too eagerly, was taken prisoner. Very few were killed in this rencounter ; for the Arabians being extremely avaricious, save the lives of their enemy, that they may get money for their ransom ; and, besides, they account it a great honour to have many captives. This war was soon ended by an exchange of prisoners, and a renewal of the former treaty ; and tribute was accordingly paid to Emmanuel.

Some time after Ataide sent out Baniga, with Jehabentaf, against the village of Areze, situate at the bottom of Guibel Hadith, or the Iron mountain, in order to reduce the inhabitants to obedience by force of arms. He accordingly set out in the silence of the night ; and having entered the place by day-break, killed many of the enemy, and took several prisoners ; the rest fled towards the mountain. Our people returned in safety to the city with their booty. But the inhabitants of Tazarot, having entered into a league with those of Areze, made inroads on the territories of Saffia. Ataide marched out against them, and having routed them, put them to flight ; he also killed several, and then led back his troops, without receiving the least damage.

Mean while Lewis Monez, son of the Conde di Taragona, and Alvaro Norhona, came to Saffia with two hundred cavalry. They were sent by Emmanuel as a reinforcement to the garrison, to be under the command of Ataide, and to enter upon any enterprize he should think proper. Ataide being desirous these noble youths should have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, that they might return to Portugal with

with reputation, therefore resolved to take them to Almedina. This city was very populous, and is surrounded with walls. The inhabitants generally give themselves up to husbandry and breeding of cattle; so that they abound in corn and provisions of all sorts. Their dress and way of living is more elegant than most of the Arabians in this part of Africa. The city was at that time divided into two factions, one in the interest of Emmanuel, and the other attached to the king of Fez. The city owed tribute to his Portuguese majesty; but the king of Fez's party, having found means to bring into the city some of his troops, they were now able to over-awe the friends of Emmanuel; and accordingly hindered them from paying the tribute. Ataide having marched out with four hundred horse, and a company of foot, came before the gates of Almedina by day-break. The enemy, however, had been apprized of his design by their scouts. They had then in the city six hundred cavalry and one thousand foot, all men of bravery, and ready to receive their enemy. Ataide thought to have surprized them; accordingly when he approached the walls, he drew up his men in two lines. One he gave to Alvaro Norhogna, with orders to attack the gate towards Morocco, whilst he himself went with the other to the opposite one. The enemy of their own accord opened the gates, and offered battle. The fight was accordingly begun with great heat on both sides. Our people at first gave ground, but recovering their spirits, they renewed the charge with uncommon vigour. The engagement having continued a considerable time, victory seemed to incline to neither side; and, at last, both armies being equally tired, left the field. Ataide retreated with his forces, and the enemy retired within their walls. Twenty of the enemy, and three of our people fell in this rencounter; but great numbers were wounded on both sides.

Ataide, who could not endure to lie in a state of inaction, soon after formed a scheme of marching in the
dead

dead of the night, to attack a party of the enemy which lay encamped near Almedina. But when he understood they were apprized of his design, he drew back his forces, notwithstanding he had already gone a considerable part of the way. At this time an Arabian came and informed him, that the king of Morocco intended to lay wait, in order to attack him in his return. Ataide said he was overjoyed at this news, and having given the Arabian a present, 'Go tell that prince (said he) I will expect him in the field.' But this intelligence proved false; for the king did not meet Ataide, but marched directly to the province of Ducala, where he entered into a league with the prince of the mountains against the Portuguese. Ataide having waited a considerable time to no purpose, at last marched in the night to Saffia.

About this time Nunnez Mascaregn arrived with one hundred horse, and Lewis Menez with Alvaro Norhona, were recalled to Portugal. There were now in this city above seven hundred cavalry; with these Ataide made frequent incursions on the rebellious Moors, and protected the tributaries of the Portuguese. Being desirous to have some intelligence of the enemy, who were encamped about twelve miles off, he dispatched Barriga for that purpose; who accordingly set out in the night with thirty horse; and having reached their camp by day-break, he killed six of their men and took four prisoners; and this with so much expedition, that he retreated before the enemy were in readiness to pursue him. Ataide having learned from these captives the designs of the enemy, the position of their camp, and the number of their forces, next day sent out Lopez Barriga with one hundred and fifty horse. Nunnez Mascaregn followed him with one hundred more, in order to lie in ambush in a proper place. Ataide himself marched last with the remainder of the army, to support them when there was occasion. Barriga in his first excursion having surprized the enemy, killed five of them, took fourteen prisoners, and carried off a considerable number of cattle. The enemy
full

full of indignation to be thus insulted with impunity; sent out four hundred horse, who attacked Barriga with great fury. He retreated in good order till he came to the place where Mascaregn lay in ambuscade; who having sallied forth, the engagement was renewed with great vigour. The combatants on both sides fought with vast obstinacy; nor, considering the smallness of their number, was there ever betwixt our people and the Moors, a more desperate rencounter; for the enemy kept their ranks, and maintained the conflict with uncommon ardour; whilst the Portuguese, though fatigued with their march, behaved with an equal degree of courage, for not a single man turned his back. Several were wounded, and several dismounted, but not one was killed. Our people, however, at last began to give ground, when Ataide coming up, received them, and stopped the progress of the enemy: but Barriga and Mascaregn's men, being greatly fatigued, Ataide did not chuse to proceed farther. He was, at the same time, afraid that the enemy might receive a reinforcement from the camp, and fall upon our people almost spent with fatigue. He left the booty, that he might not be encumbered in his march; and retired into the city with his men.

About a week afterwards, Ataide having received intelligence, that the king of Morocco was encamped near Cantinape, not a great way off, he set out in the evening; and whilst the king was at supper, attacked and took prisoners two of his troops of horse; and having put their camp into the utmost consternation, he made a quick and safe retreat with his men. The enemy did indeed discharge many of their darts, and other missive weapons; being situate on a rising ground, they threw down such vast quantities of stones, that the place was called Stoney-hill from that time. Nevertheless, Ataide carried off a considerable booty, and returned safe with his men by break of day. The Portuguese in this rencounter took above three hundred prisoners, besides many horse and camels.

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The king was now resolved to encamp in a stronger place: for this purpose he pitched on a valley lying under the mountain Idenar. This valley begins extremely narrow, being bounded on each side by the hills, but by degrees it widens: he accordingly encamped in these streights. As soon as Ataide received intelligence of this, he marched out in the night with five hundred horse, together with a considerable body of Arabians, under the command of Jehabentaf; and having reached their camp, fell upon them unaware, which threw them into such consternation, that though many hastily took up such arms as chance directed them to, yet none had courage to use them, but all fled in the most precipitate manner. The king himself did not wait till his own horse was got ready; but mounting the first which he could get, made his escape. Our people killed many in the camp, and carried off a considerable booty. They likewise took a vast number of prisoners, both men and women, whom they made slaves. Amongst the female captives there was one of extraordinary beauty, who was one of the king's concubines, and beloved by him in the most passionate manner. Some of the Portuguese were wounded in this affair; amongst the rest Ataide, who received a wound in his face.

Some days after, the people of Almedina made an inroad into the neighbourhood of Saffia, and posted themselves in ambush in two different places; which Ataide being informed of, led out a party of his men against them. A battle ensued, which was obstinately fought on both sides: but at last the enemy were routed and put to flight. Forty eight of them were killed in this skirmish, whilst only three of our people were missing. A great many more of the enemy would certainly have fallen, had not the slaughter been prevented by their hasty flight, and the discretion of the Portuguese general; who would not allow his men to follow them farther, lest, from an eagerness in the pursuit, they might fall into some ambush.

At another time about seven hundred of the Arabian cavalry made an incurſion on the lands near Saffia; and having fired the corn in the fields, they immediately marched back again. But Ataide obſerving that they went off with great confidence and ſecurity, ſent out after them Lopez Barriga, with one hundred and fixty of his choicelt cavalry. He, at the ſame time, diſpatched Nunnez Catto, a man of great gallantry, from another gate, with a troop of horſe, in order that the enemy might be attacked at once from two different quarters. The latter of theſe gentlemen came up firſt with them; but his detachment was in great danger from the fierceneſs of ſuch a numerous enemy. But the arrival of Barriga, who came up ſoon after, infuſed freſh courage into Catto's men: and the enemy were now charged with ſo much fury, that they betook themſelves to flight. Our people purſued them four miles, with great ſlaughter; and Barriga returned into the city with the ſpoils of their chief commander: for he had with his own hand killed their general, a man in high repute for his courage and experience in war. But though he came off victorious, yet he received many deſperate wounds: however, the glory of this exploit very much leſſened the pain of his wounds. The name of this general was Jahomazende. His head was brought into the city; and being fixed on the point of a ſpear, was placed on one of the gates. The Arabians offered to redeem it by a conſiderable ſum of money: this Ataide peremptorily reſuſed. But afterwards, when the people of Xerque made peace with the Portugueſe, this was made one of the articles of the treaty, that the head of Jahomazende ſhould be delivered up; which was accordingly performed. He had been one of the moſt renowned generals amongſt the Arabians; and his great exploits in war, made him be remembered with a kind of veneration. A peace being concluded with the inhabitants of Xerque, many others, induc'd by their example, were likewiſe deſirous of coming to an accommodation

commodation with the Portuguese. Jehabentaf acted as a mediator; nor was any heavier taxes imposed on those who submitted than what they formerly paid.

The war being brought to a conclusion in this part of the country, and the tributaries reduced under subjection, Ataide enlisted several of them in his army, that he might be more able to make head against the king of Morocco; and one Xerifius, a man who from the sanctity of his manners, and his courage in warlike affairs, had acquired a kind of sovereignty amongst the Arabians. Ataide had already struck such a terror into them, that they hardly thought themselves secure in the strongest fortifications; but being now freed from other concerns, he resolved to carry on the war against these two princes with all his vigour. He accordingly dispatched Lopez Barriga, with one hundred and fifty Portuguese cavalry, and Jehabentaf with the auxiliary Arabians, to invade the territories of Morocco. When they came to a place called Duam, about forty miles from Saffia, they received information that a party of the enemy lay encamped in a spacious plain called Alehauz, situate at the bottom of mount Atlas. Having found this intelligence to be true by their scouts, they marched away with the utmost expedition, and made an unexpected attack upon the enemy. They killed above a thousand of them, took one hundred and fifty prisoners, and made a considerable booty. They went still farther, and invaded the territories of Catim, where they killed many of the inhabitants, and carried off one hundred captives. Herifius being encamped not a great way off, sent out a considerable party of his men against our people. But Barriga, who had received a considerable reinforcement, gave them a warm reception. The battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful for a long time. But the enemy, finding themselves unable to hold out any longer, at last retired into their camp; but our people did not

think it safe to pursue them, lest they might be overpowered by numbers.

Some days after, Barriga endeavoured to storm Tauli, a town in Xiatim. The inhabitants being reduced to the utmost extremity, contrived the following expedient to annoy the assailants. They set fire to a great number of beehives, in which they greatly abound, and threw them from the walls amongst our people, who being at once burnt by the fire and stung by the bees, were obliged to desist. Many of them were likewise desperately wounded, amongst whom was Barriga himself.

About this time Nunez Cugna arrived at Saffia with one hundred horse from Portugal, and Nunez Mascaren was recalled home.

There is a town called Agur in that part of Morocco, which is in the confines of Saffia. this place was at that time kept by a Portuguese with fifty archers: thither Barriga and Jehabentaf repaired with all their forces: there they received intelligence that the king of Morocco was approaching with all his troops. Ataide likewise got notice of this, and immediately dispatched Nunez Cugna with a reinforcement of two hundred cavalry: a party of the enemy attacked the Portuguese rear, but they were repulsed, and one of their men was taken prisoner, whom Barriga sent to Ataide. This man being interrogated about the designs of the enemy, took an advantage to tell such stories as worked up Ataide into the highest suspicion of Jehabentaf's fidelity, and made him believe that he intended to betray our people. Ataide accordingly wrote to Barriga to return with all the Portuguese, and leave Jehabentaf. These orders were accordingly comply'd with, and Roderick de Castro with three of his servants, were the only Portuguese who remained, for they would not depart. Jehabentaf was extremely offended to be thus abandoned at such a dangerous juncture, but the thoughts of the approaching danger affected him but little, in comparison of that uneasiness which

which he felt for his honour and integrity being suspected. He wrote a letter to Ataide, complaining bitterly of this unworthy treatment, and said he would nevertheless engage the king of Morocco with his handful of men, that by a signal victory, or an honourable death, he might give a proof of his zeal and fidelity for the service of Emmanuel. Ataide being moved by this letter, wrote back to him, that he would send him immediately five hundred horse. But when the messenger reached Aguz, Jehabentaf was already engaged with the king's numerous army. The fight was severe and obstinate: Jehabentaf and his men performed wonders that day, and having at last routed the enemy, killed great numbers of them. He stripped the king of his camp, and made great havock in the pursuit. The plunder was very considerable, for the enemy's camp was filled with abundance of all things.

Ataide, according to his promise, sent next day Barriga and Cugna with five hundred cavalry. But before their arrival Jehabentaf had gained a complete victory. Ataide was not a little chagreened that neither he nor none of the Portuguese commanders were present at this engagement: at the same time he was highly condemned by many for his simplicity in being so far imposed on by the insinuations of a deceitful man, as to suspect the fidelity of an ally, and abandon him at such a dangerous juncture.

A few days after, Ataide sent Barriga against another place in Xiatim, which, after a sharp rencounter, was taken by our people; the enemy were partly killed, and partly put to flight; and several were also taken prisoners.

About the same time, which was in the year 1511, the king of Fez having been informed, that the town of Tangier was but slightly garrisoned, formed a design to take it by surprize. For this purpose he marched thither with a formidable army, but when he came there, he found things not as he expected.

However, he encamped his men, and besieged the place for several days. But he found all his efforts in vain, being obliged to raise the siege with great shame and loss. The following year he tried to wipe off this ignominy, for having marched out with a considerable army, he sat down before the city of Arzila. The enemy advanced with great boldness, and having forced the trenches, attacked our people posted there. The Portuguese made a gallant defence. Bernardo Coutign, having spurred on his horse against Adel, one of their principal leaders, he thrust out one of his eyes with a spear. Diego Coutign, brother to Francisco Coutign, Conde di Marialba, greatly distinguished himself in this action, but he was at last killed by the enemy. A few fell on both sides, and the king finding he met with so warm a reception, drew off his men, and returned home, without being able to accomplish his design.

But to return to the affairs of India. After Albuquerque's departure from Malacca, new disturbances began to arise. In order to give a distinct account of which it may not be improper, briefly to describe the nature and situation of some of the Sunda islands. Taprobane, now called Sumatra, is a large island, lying to the south west of Malacca. South east of Sumatra, there are many islands which produce great quantities of spices, and are under the government of different princes. The chief of these islands are the greater and lesser Java, separated from Sumatra by a narrow sea, called the streights of Sunda: they are extremely rich and fertile, producing corn and fruits of all sorts, and also abounding in cattle and horses. There is likewise game of all sorts; so that the inhabitants have the diversions of hunting and fowling in great perfection: those of the natives who live on the sea coast, are generally of the Mahometan religion, and give themselves up to trade, exporting their spices to all parts in India. The natives in the more inland parts are mostly Pagans. The men generally go naked

as far as their waist, though the better sort wear silk and cotton garments. They do not shave but pluck their beards; but they shave their forehead, and curl the rest with great nicety. They wear no covering on their head, esteeming it dishonourable that this part, wherein they think the superiority of man above other creatures consists, should be concealed as if it was a shameful part of the body. If any one but touches another man's head, this is resented as the highest insult. They are a people of a warlike disposition, and will encounter the greatest danger with intrepidity. They are excellent mechanicks, making all sorts of arms, and warlike engines, with great dexterity: they can likewise cast brass into all manner of forms. They also understand the art of building ships, which they make very large. They are careful observers of the stars, and pretend to be great magicians. They take vast delight in hunting, making use of dogs and nets to catch the wild beasts. They likewise have a notion of hawking. The natives are of a tawney complexion. The women are tolerably handsome, and in general have a good share of understanding. They dress very elegantly, and dance with a graceful air. They likewise take great pleasure in hunting, and being in their chariots, often accompany their husbands into the woods and forests. The men live much after the manners and customs of the Chinese, from whom they boast themselves to be descended.

In the greater Java there is a town called Japara: in this place one Pateonuz resided, a man of the greatest power and wealth in the city: before Malacca was taken by Albuquerque, he had entered into a combination with Utematuraja for the destruction of that king. Utematuraja complained he had been used very unworthily by the king of Malacca, and for this reason entered into the design of Pateonuz, to dethrone that prince. Pateonuz, prompted by his ambition, was resolved to use his utmost efforts to ac-

comply with this design. He accordingly set about fitting out a very large fleet, in preparing of which he spent seven years. But the purpose for which this squadron was equipped, he concealed with so much carefulness, that nobody knew, nor so much as suspected the true design. He likewise sent several of his emissaries to Malacca, who lurked there under the appearance of merchants, and were to be ready with their arms as soon as a proper occasion offered. Utematuraja knew all these men, and at his own expence entertained many of them: there were great numbers of them in Malacca at the time when Utematuraja was put to death by Albuquerque. Thus a secret poison lay hid in the bowels of the state, whilst our people lived in the utmost security without the least suspicion.

After Utematuraja was cut off, Pateonuz did not drop his scheme, but trusting in his powerful fleet, and immense wealth, he flattered himself that he should be able to overthrow the present constitution of Malacca, and make himself master of that kingdom. He accordingly set sail from Japara, with a considerable number of soldiers aboard a fleet of three hundred ships. He sailed by the streights of Sunda; and the formidable appearance of his squadron struck a terror into all the inhabitants on the neighbouring coast. Roderigo Brittio Patalin having received intelligence of this affair, sent out Andrade with seven ships towards the streights of Sunda, to observe what course they took: but the enemy having tacked about, had taken the readiest way to Malacca by the streights of Saba. Andrade accordingly returned to the city with all expedition. The enemy's squadron being now in sight, filled the citizens with the utmost consternation. Brittio was resolved to engage them, and assumed to himself the command of the Portuguese fleet. This gave the highest umbrage to Andrade, who claimed as his right the direction of maritime affairs; and said that the government of the fort and city was entrusted

to

to Brittio, who therefore ought to keep to his own province. Brittio, on the contrary, maintained, that the management of sea, as well as land affairs on these coasts belonged to him, and insisted that Andrade should obey his commands. Andrade being unwilling to be stripped of his authority, this bred the highest animosity betwixt these two commanders; so that Brittio at last put Andrade under confinement: but afterwards, when he began to reflect coolly on the matter, he thought it was highly improper to alienate the affections of so able an officer at such a juncture. He therefore sent to pacify Andrade, and entreat him to go aboard his ship, that he might have a share in the honour of that day. Andrade thought he was in duty bound to sacrifice his private resentment to the publick good, and accordingly with great readiness complied with this request.

Brittio committed the care of the fort to Ayres Peryre, and he himself went aboard a three bank'd galley. The fleet consisted of sixteen ships. Nina-cher cruized near the shore with some brigantines having aboard fifteen hundred soldiers of Malacca. By day break the enemy appeared under full sail, making towards the harbour. The number of their ships, and the order in which they were drawn up, filled our people with the utmost astonishment. The Portuguese, however, stood away to meet them, being resolved to engage them in the main sea. Botello, whose galley was an excellent sailer, having got ahead of the rest of the fleet, made towards the enemy's flagship: and notwithstanding he was attacked by fifteen of their pinnaces, yet boldly forced his course. Pedro Fario, with the utmost expedition, sailed after him, to give him assistance. They accordingly both at once attacked the enemy's flag-ship, which was of so large a size, that her fore-castle was higher than the main-top of Botello's galley: they therefore thought it most expedient to engage her at a distance. But so great was her strength and thickness, that all the balls dis-

charged rebounded from her as if she had been made of flint. Botello and Fario finding all their efforts to no purpose, and at the same time being afraid they should be surrounded by the enemy, made off with as much expedition as they had advanced. That day, there were some slight skirmishes, but no general engagement; for the enemy declined it in the main sea, being resolved, if possible, to approach the city with their whole force, thinking by this means to raise the greater consternation: our people began likewise to be averse to it, from the apprehensions they lay under of being surrounded by the enemy's numerous fleet. The enemy accordingly, in the close of the evening came to anchor near the shore, in sight of the city, as our people did also at no great distance from the land.

Brittio held a council of war, to consider what were the most proper measures to be followed in the present juncture. All the officers present earnestly entreated him to quit the fleet, and return to the fort. 'For, (said they) if we are worsted, you may still annoy the enemy from the fortress, and repair the damage we shall sustain. Besides, the nature of your office is such, that you are bound to take care of the fort; nor is it your business to leave the city, and encounter dangers at sea.' Brittio, influenced by these arguments, returned into the fort, and thus Andrade was left sole commander of the naval forces.

Mean while the Arabians of Tava, who remained in the city went to Pateonuz, and advised him not at that time to engage our people, but to wait the arrival of a fleet from the king of Bantam: that when he had received this reinforcement, he might then with the utmost ease, overpower the Portuguese fleet, and in a few days reduce the fort by famine; in the mean time they advised him to withdraw his fleet to the river Muar. This advice was approved of, and accordingly next morning by day-break the enemy weighed anchor, and stood to sea. Andrade

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was not a little surprized at their sudden departure, for he could not devise from what motive it proceeded. However, he jumped into a long-boat, and went round all his fleet, and having given directions to all the officers, he then ordered the sails to be hoisted, and that our ships should be drawn up in line of battle, and in this order to pursue the enemy, in such a manner, however, that they should not come to close quarters, but at a distance annoy them with their cannon, and to throw granades into their ships. These orders were accordingly put in execution with great readines. Pateonuz observing this, ordered his fleet to croud all their sails. His men not understanding the design of his retreat, imagined that it proceeded from fear and despair, and accordingly made off in the utmost precipitation. Our people in the pursuit used their cannon with great success: they sunk several of the enemy's ships, disabled many, and burnt others. Their fleet being fired in several places, this threw their men into the utmost consternation, who jumped over-board into the water, where some of them were drowned, and others died of the wounds they received; for our people getting into their boats, killed many of them as they were swimming.

Andrade finding the enemy in such distraction, saw plainly, that if he pursued them vigorously, the war might that day be finished: but at the same time was afraid that he should be obliged to desist for want of ammunition, he therefore sent to Britio for a supply, which was accordingly brought to him with the utmost expedition. But Pateonuz finding himself thus closely pressed, joined four of the largest ships with his own in such a manner, that his ship remained in the middle with two of each side. He ordered the choicest of his men to be brought aboard these ships, and that the remainder of the fleet should be drawn up in order, and kept close together, that they might withstand the shock of our people with the greater firmness. He ordered likewise, that they should

should all keep near the five ships, and when too closely pressed, they might retreat to this bulwark, as he imagined it to be, and from thence renew the attack with fresh vigour. But what Pateonuz so much relied on, proved his destruction: for the other ships being deprived of their stoutest men, were now unable to withstand the attack: besides, the enemy were by this means, so crowded together, that every weapon discharged by our people did execution. The enemy's ships were partly sunk, partly disabled, and partly driven to flight: and when their fleet was thus diminished, our people durst now approach and engage them in close quarters. Martin Guedio having already sunk some of the enemy's smaller ships, now attacked one of their largest, and having boarded her, partly killed the men, and partly drove them headlong into the sea. John Lopez Albino in like manner boarded another with the same success: these two ships were immediately burnt. The rest of the Portuguese commanders behaved with great bravery and emulation, and made considerable havock amongst the enemy. The five ships now only remained, these having the wind before them, made off with crowded sails. Ataide being resolved to attack Pateonuz's ship, for this purpose picked out some of the choicest men from the rest of the ships, whom he put aboard his own. But, however, not being able to come up with the admiral, he contented himself with attacking one of the five, which he engaged with his grappling hooks. She was commanded by Temungam, a man of great wealth, and next in command to Pateonuz. Andrade boarded her at the side, whilst Francisco at the same time entered at the fore-castle, and charged the enemy with great fury. In the mean while Temungam's nephew, a youth of uncommon bravery, and commander of another large ship, perceiving the danger in which his uncle was involved, advanced to Andrade's ship, which he went on board without any obstruction, for Andrade and all his men were

now

now engaged in Temungam's. Hence he got aboard his uncle's ship, where he greatly signalized himself. The engagement was more obstinate than could be expected from an enemy almost vanquished. They were superior in number, and being desperate, did not fight so much from hopes of victory, as that they might sell their lives as dear as possible. Mean while, George Botello attacked the ship commanded by Temungam's nephew, and having boarded her, had a most furious engagement with those who were aboard. The enemy, however, were at last either cut to pieces, or driven headlong into the sea, and the ship was burnt. Andrade and Francisco Melos had the like success with the one which they attacked. Ninachet, and Tuam Mahumed, who commanded a large ship called a junk, greatly distinguished themselves that day by their gallant behavior.

Of all the enemy's numerous fleet, there now only remained Pateonuz's and two more. These Andrade endeavoured at a distance to batter to pieces with his cannon, for the ships being very high, and the men bold and desperate, he foresaw that it would be extremely hazardous, to attempt to board them. However, having kept a continual firing, he demolished their rigging and destroyed their forecastles: but their sides were of such prodigious strength, that he was not able to pierce them. The fight began at day-break, and continued till night, when the darkness was so great, that they could not see each other: Andrade therefore dropt anchor, being resolved next morning as soon as light appeared, to attack the remains of the enemy. But a sudden storm accompanied with the most terrible thunder and lightning separated the fleet, and threatened all the ships with destruction; for they narrowly escaped running foul of each other, or being dashed to pieces on the shelves.

The storm being at last abated, and the light beginning to appear, Botello and Mahumed were discovered

covered lying near Pateonuz and the other two ships. They immediately attacked the enemy, and sunk these two ships: but the balls having no effect on Pateonuz's ship, she still remained safe. Botello continued the fight, till his ammunition failed. Trusting, however, to the swiftness of his ship, he sailed for the city to get a supply; in his way thither, he saw several of the Portuguese fleet, which had been much shattered, and suffered great damage in the late storm. Having furnished himself with ammunition, he returned to renew the attack on Pateonuz's ship, but she having got a fair wind, had stood away for the island of Java. In this engagement Pateonuz lost fifty nine of those large ships called junks, besides a great number of smaller vessels, which were either burnt or sunk. Eight thousand of the enemy were destroyed; of the Portuguese, there were about thirty killed, and as many wounded. When Andrade and the rest of the commanders entered the city, they were received by all the citizens with the most joyful acclamations, for they were looked upon as the greatest heroes for the wonderful exploits they had that day performed. This war being finished, Andrade set sail for Hither India.

Soon after his departure, the city had like to have come into the hands of the enemy by villainous treachery. There was at that time in Malacca an Arabian named Tuam Maxeliz, of Bengal, a man naturally cut out for the most bold and wicked enterprize. This person being corrupted by large bribes, and larger promises, had undertaken to betray the fort of Malacca. In order to accomplish this design, he had contracted a familiarity with Pedro Persona, agent for the Portuguese affairs, and farmer of the taxes. Maxeliz had taken some other Arabians into the plot, and the scheme was to be executed thus. Maxeliz was to kill Persona in his apartment, which was in the strongest part of the fort, and the other Arabians were instantly to enter and defend it till the arrival of a party of the king of Bantam's forces, who

were to be quartered in some convenient place for that purpose. Nor did they doubt but in the tumult many who hated the Portuguese would become associates in the conspiracy. Things being thus settled, Maxeliz, as usual, was in a familiar manner admitted by Persona, who, after some conversation, sat down to write: Maxeliz laying hold on this occasion, stabbed him with a dagger. Persona felt himself mortally wounded, and suspecting the treachery, he flew to the door, and barred it, notwithstanding his weakness and the opposition of Maxeliz. The conspirators flocked together in great hurry, and a tumult arose. The Portuguese being alarmed killed those who were endeavouring to force an entrance into the fort. Then having burst open the door, they attacked Maxeliz, who was at last killed, after a good deal of resistance. Thus this plot was luckily prevented from taking place. The king of Bantam some time after sued for peace, which was accordingly granted him upon equitable terms. In this manner tranquility and peace was settled at Malacca, which remained undisturbed for several years.



B O O K IX.

WHilst these things happened at Malacca, Albuquerque was busy in preparing a fleet in Hither India: after it was fitted out, and in readiness, he appointed Peter Mascaregn to govern the city of Goa: he left the management of naval affairs to John Machiad, and entrusted the fort of Benastar to Roderigo Pereira. His fleet consisted of twenty ships; there were aboard one thousand seven hundred Portuguese, and one thousand Indians. He sailed from Goa on the 18th of February 1513.

Having spent more days in this voyage than he expected, he was obliged to put in at Socotra for a supply of water. Hence he steered for Aden, a strong city in Arabia. It is situated at the bottom of a large mountain which runs out into the sea, and being surrounded with water on both sides, forms a kind of peninsula. The mountain is craggy and barren, producing neither tree nor fruit of any kind. They have no springs in the place, and it rains very seldom: for which reason the inhabitants are obliged to have all their water conveyed by an aqueduct from a village at a great distance, to a place about four miles from the city. They have great abundance of corn and all sorts, of provisions, though at the same time, they have none but what is imported. The city is surrounded with walls and turrets, and abounds in handsome buildings, so that it makes a beautiful romantick appearance. There was at that time a great resort of merchants to this port from Persia, India, and many parts of Aethiopia. The natives are white in complexion, and genteel in their outward appearance.

Their

Their nobles give themselves to the exercise of arms, being fond of acquiring renown in war. Their religion is mahometanism.

The king has several inland towns in his possession, and keeps many foreign soldiers in his pay. Upon an emergency he can bring into the field two thousand cavalry of his own subjects. He used generally to appoint a governor over the city of Aden: an Æthiopian named Miramiriam, a man of great abilities happened to be invested with this dignity at the time when the Portuguese arrived there.

Albuquerque was extremely desirous to become master of this city, because he could from thence annoy the Arabians. Besides as it was only about twenty miles from the streights of Babelmandel, it might therefore be considered as the key of the red sea, to the mouth of which he could sail in a few hours; and thus prevent any Ægyptian or Turkish fleet from passing that way to India. He likewise reckoned it would be no difficult matter to sail from thence to Suez, where the enemy always fitted out their fleets, and burn all their ships in the docks. By this means he thought the empire of the east would become everlasting, if such an expression may be allow'd in human affairs: however, he failed in his attempt; in the first place he did not find things in the situation as was reported, for the city was strongly fortified; nor did the inhabitants seem inclined to favour the Portuguese: this indifference was at last heightened into a violent hatred by some irregularities of our soldiers. As soon as the fleet came to anchor, Miramirian sent a messenger to Albuquerque to enquire whether he had come into that port with friendly or hostile intentions. Albuquerque returned for answer,

‘ That having heard by letters, as well as common report, that the grand signior was fitting out a fleet to attack the Portuguese in India, he had therefore, in order to save the enemy the fatigue of so long a voyage, sailed thither to engage them in the red sea: and as to what concerned the city of Aden, he

‘ came there not as a foe, but as a friend, with offers of
 ‘ peace and amity, on condition they would submit
 ‘ themselves to the sovereignty of Emmanuel, under
 ‘ whose protection, he said, they would live more se-
 ‘ cure and happy than they had hitherto done under
 ‘ any other prince.’ Miramiriam having received this
 answer, sent provisions of all sorts to our people, with
 assurances that he would, with the utmost cheerfulness,
 acknowledge so great a prince as Emmanuel for his
 sovereign.

There were at this time in the harbour about thirty
 sail of ships, the supercargoes and captains of which,
 being frightened at the approach of the Portuguese
 fleet, had fled into the city. Albuquerque sent to them,
 telling them not to be afraid, but to return to their
 ships. They answered, that these words did not agree
 with the actions of the Portuguese, who, they said,
 had attacked their ships, and unjustly taken from thence
 whatever they thought proper. He, at the same time,
 received a letter from Miramiriam complaining of these
 injuries, and likewise reproaching him for desiring the
 merchants to return to the ships: this, he said, was an
 artifice to lessen the numbers of the city, that it might
 be rendered more defenceless.

Albuquerque now resolved to proceed to hostilities,
 and accordingly made preparations to storm the city.
 In the mean while a Christian Æthiopian, who had
 been detained as a prisoner in Aden, made his
 escape, and swam to the Portuguese fleet; this man in-
 formed Albuquerque that Miramiriam had hired a
 great number of auxiliary troops, and had made, with
 the utmost diligence, all necessary preparations for the
 defence of the city. The admiral having received
 this intelligence, landed his forces, and sat down before
 the city. The Portuguese having played their cannon
 very briskly, cleared the walls of the defenders in many
 places; then they began to apply their scaling lad-
 ders, and would certainly that day have carried the
 place had the assailants proceeded with less hurry and
 disorder.

disorder. But as every one strove to be first or amongst the first who mounted the walls, several crowded upon one ladder; so that by this means they proved a hindrance to each other, and the ladders broke by the immoderate weight. At the same time about one hundred and fifty Portuguese, and several of them men of nobility, mounted the walls; amongst these was Garcia Soufa, who finding the rest of the Portuguese not so forward in scaling as they had been at first setting out, he led some of his men to a part of the city, where the wall was lowest. There he possessed himself of a tower where the enemy had planted some cannon. Albuquerque immediately advanced, and ordered a part of the wall, which was already greatly shattered, to be levelled to the ground. Emmanuel Lacerda entered this breach, being followed by a priest holding up a crucifix, and several men of distinguished bravery. Miramiriam clapping spurs to his horse, advanced to repulse them. George Sylveira fought very bravely on the wall, but an Arabian, who came up to repulse the assailants, having caught hold of his spear, wrenched it from him. This insult so much moved his indignation, that drawing his sword, he jumped down from the wall to attack the enemy, but no body coming to his assistance, he was killed. Miramiriam behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and killed or wounded several of the Portuguese who entered the breach: those who remained betook themselves to the tower of which Garcia had taken possession. Thither the enemy likewise followed, and attacked this place with great fury. They fought with spears on both sides, and the dispute was carried on with the utmost obstinacy. Albuquerque, who was on the shore under the tower where Soufa and his men were, seeing the danger in which they were involved, was in the utmost uneasiness. In order to favour their escape, he ordered ropes to be brought, but the wall in that part was of such a height, that they were obliged to be reached up at the end of two spears fastened together. Soufa, however, and some of his

men, said it would be scandalous to descend in so ignominious a manner from a place which they had ascended with such gallantry. They accordingly continued to make a brave defence, and struck a terror into the enemy, who now kept at some distance, and plied them with their missive weapons. But these brave men were at last overcome, some of them being killed by huge stones, and others by darts: Sousa himself fell wounded in his forehead by an arrow; those who remained, finding themselves in the utmost extremity, went down by the ropes. Those who had entered the city behaved with the like courage; but finding all their efforts in vain, they retired to the walls, from whence they descended by help of some ladders, which had been repaired and fixed to the walls by the orders of Emmanuel Lacerda, and John Decio. Some of them who jumped down broke their legs. Albuquerque having received these men, retired to the fleet. Opposite to the wall of the city, there was a little island on which stood a tower, from whence the enemy with their cannon very much annoyed the Portuguese ships. Albuquerque called a council of his officers, to consider what method should be taken to destroy this tower. In the mean while Alvaro Marreiro the pilot of Lacerda's ship, of his own accord, having got together a body of sailors, made a descent on this place, and having stormed the tower, cut to pieces the garrison, and brought away with them twenty pieces of cannon. All this was done with so much expedition, that they returned to the fleet, before the officers had come to any resolution.

Albuquerque finding this siege could not be carried on, without the loss of many of his men, and at the same time expecting to have an engagement with the grand signior's fleet, did not choose to waste his strength, but was willing to sail against so formidable an enemy with all his force. He was likewise afraid, whilst he lay before that city, the proper season for sailing might slip away, and all his labour be also in vain. For these reasons he immediately resolved to weigh anchor and depart: but, in the first place he

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ordered all the enemy's ships in the harbour to be plundered and burnt. Having accordingly sailed from thence, he entered the streights of Babelmandel, and came into the red sea. The fleet touched at Camaran, an island about four miles from the coast of Arabia. Here is plenty of excellent water; the place is covered with shady woods, and abounds in all sorts of cattle. The inhabitants being alarmed at the sight of the Portuguese fleet, fled in consternation to the continent. Our people spent a week here in taking in water, and a supply of provisions. Thence they steered for Teddo or Sidan, but being driven back by contrary winds, they again put in at Camaran. The inhabitants began now to be somewhat more affable, and Albuquerque resolved to refit his fleet, and lie there for the winter. As soon as the spring began, having heard nothing of the enemy's fleet, he sailed for India. In his way thither he resolved to have another trial upon Aden: but he found the place much stronger fortified than before. The enemy attacked our people from their walls and towers, as well as from some new fortification raised on the mountain. The Portuguese, on the other hand, made several vigorous assaults, and killed many of the defenders. The tower which had been stormed by Marreiro was again taken, and the soldiers in it were put to the sword.

The fleet having remained a fortnight near the port of Aden (the weather not allowing them to depart sooner) Albuquerque then set sail for Dia, nor did any thing remarkable happen in the voyage. Melichiaz, the governor of Diu, put on an appearance of great friendship and civility to the Portuguese; yet all this was only dissimulation, which was his great talent. He likewise possessed a great share of cunning and penetration: He saw that Albuquerque wanted by any means to get master of the city, and, at the same time, knowing him to be a man of shrewd parts, he greatly dreaded and suspected his designs. The fleet remained here six days, and then sailed. Melichiaz followed them with eighty boats well manned and

armed. He went aboard the admiral's ship, where he made the greatest professions of friendship to our people, and offered to serve them with all his strength. Albuquerque being resolved not to be outdone in finesse, answered him in the poltest manner. He made him a present of four Arabian captives, men of great wealth and distinction. This kindness not a little tickled the vanity of Melichiaz, who imagined it would grealy redound to his honour, that he had been able to procure the liberty of such eminent persons. Albuquerque proceeded in his course, and as he sailed along the coast he was honourably received by all the neighbouring princes, who paid their tribute with the utmost readines. When he touched at the port of Chaul, he found there Tristano Goa, who had been sent as an ambassor to the king of Cambaya. This man brought a letter from that prince, wherein he gave liberty to Albuquerque to erect a fort in the city of Diu: that the friendship might be more strongly settled, an ambassador had likewise accompanied Goa from the king.

Albuquerque soon proceeded from Goa; in his way thither he took some Arabian ships laden with spices. Thus this fleet, fitted out with so much labour and expence; which, from the fame of the admiral, and the bravery of the soldiers, had raised the highest expectations, and had struck terror into many nations, brought only this one advantage to the Portugese: that their minds hitherto elated with success, now received a damp, which might serve to humble their arrogance, self confidence, and immoderate ambition; for, as we have above observed, this expedition proved fruitless, and the fleet returned to Goa, after having lost many of their bravest men.

Albuquerque having found that two of the ships he had taken belonged to the zamorin, immediately restored them, being now in peace with that monarch. The fort, however, (which according to treaty was to be erected in the port of Calicu) was not yet set about. The work was hindered partly by the ill will
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of the zamorin, and partly by the envy of some of the Portuguese themselves, who said that it was the highest madness in Albuquerque to build so many forts, and that it would be of very fatal consequences to the Portuguese.

About this time Pedro Andrado arrived at Goa: he gave Albuquerque an account of the state of affairs in Goa, and of the late victory gained in that place, which gave him inexpressible joy.

Not long after John Souza de Lima came likewise into this port with two ships. He had set out with three from Portugal, but one of them commanded by Francisco Correa had been shipwreck'd.

Whilst the fleet remained here, an ambassador came from the king of Narsingua, requesting that all the horses imported to Goa might be assigned to him at a reasonable price, and that Idalcam might not be allowed to purchase any. Albuquerque, however, unwilling to act contrary to his agreement with Idalcam, refused this request.

Mean while the zamorin of Calicut died suddenly, and was succeeded by Naubeadarim, who was not a little attached to the Portuguese, so that a peace was now entered into with the utmost sincerity on both sides. The fort began then to go on apace, and Naubeadarim sent ambassadors to Emmanuel with many considerable presents.

Things being thus settled, Albuquerque steered for Cananor, in order to settle some disturbances raised by our own people, and, at the same time, that he might recover the affections of the inhabitants by a just and mild administration. Whilst he was forming these designs, his private enemies were no less indefatigable in hatching schemes for his destruction. Of these malecontents, Jasper Pereira was one of the principal. This man was secretary for the Portuguese affairs, and from the nature of his office had acquired great influence and authority. He was a bitter enemy to Albuquerque, and never failed, when an opportunity of-

ferred, to detract from his reputation. This person had likewise wrote to Emmanuel, telling him, that if he was willing to hold the sovereignty in India, Goa must be abandoned; for he said that island could not be kept without the largest reinforcements: that, in the mean while, the dominion at sea was neglected, and the Portuguese being cooped up within walls, were exposed to all manner of dangers and calamities. This subject being often talked of at court, and mentioned frequently to his majesty, he was at last prevailed on by importunities to send a letter to India. In this he desired the officers to hold a council upon the affair; and if it was approved by a majority of voices, that they should abandon Goa, and leave it in possession of the enemy. This letter was matter of no small triumph to Pereira. A council was accordingly held, where, after every one had declared his sentiments, it was at last carried, that Goa should be kept. And in this indeed providence seems to have directed them; for at this time there is no place in India which abounds more in wealth, nor where the Christian religion shines with greater lustre.

Whilst these things were transacted in India, Emmanuel fitted out a most formidable fleet to sail for Africa. We have already mentioned above, that his Portuguese majesty, by the persuasion of Zeiam, sent an army to Azamor, under the conduct of John Monez; and the attempt on this city at that time miscarried, which was owing to the infidelity of Zeiam. This man afterwards seized the government of Azamor, kept the citizens under the severest oppression; and, in order to secure his power, entered into a treaty with Emmanuel, the terms of which were greatly advantageous to himself, and no less to the Portuguese; for he agreed to pay tribute to Emmanuel, and to allow the Portuguese a free trade in his dominions. He was likewise, when occasion required, to bring assistance to his Portuguese majesty, who, on his part, engaged to take Zeiam under his protection, and to defend him
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against the insults of his enemies. Zeiam, however, did not pay the least regard to this treaty ; so that the Portuguese merchants residing in Azamor, highly offended at his behaviour, left the city. The king being resolved to punish the perfidy of this man, and at the same time extremely desirous, if possible, to make himself master of so powerful a city, fitted out a fleet so formidable, that a greater had never been seen in Portugal. It consisted of four hundred sail of ships : there were aboard this fleet twenty thousand infantry, and twelve thousand seven hundred cavalry, of which five hundred were cuirassiers. He appointed Diego duke of Braganza, in whom he highly confided, to be generalissimo of these forces ; and gave the second place in command to John Monez. In this army there were several of the nobility, and many gentlemen of distinction, who, from loyalty to their prince, and a thirst after glory, entered as volunteers in this expedition. The general himself, at his own expence, brought into the field three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, amongst which there were one hundred cuirassiers. Several other persons likewise furnished soldiers at their own charge. John Gundissalvo Camera, governor of the Madeiras, fitted out twenty ships, with six hundred foot and two hundred horse. Emmanuel having given all necessary instructions to the duke of Braganza, earnestly recommended to him, that he would use his utmost endeavours on the present occasion, that he might answer the high expectations he had formed from his valour and experience : above all, he entreated him to place his hope of victory in the Supreme Disposer of all things.

The fleet weighed anchor on the 17th of August ; but, for want of a fair wind, did not reach cape St. Vincent so soon as was expected. They sailed along the coast of Algarve, where they put in at the port of Faro, in order to take aboard some forces, which had not yet embarked. From thence they departed on
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the 20th of August; and on the 28th the whole fleet, with all the forces, arrived in safety on the coast of Azamor. The duke of Braganza finding he could not put into the river on which Azamor stands, by reason of the contrary winds, landed at Mazaganum, a town about two miles distant: there he drew out his whole forces, and in three days time got every thing in readiness for a siege. The enemy made some small excursions, and killed every one they found straggling from the camp. Some of their most able commanders, at last, advanced with five thousand horse and seven thousand foot, in order to give our people battle: but upon their approach, when they observed the situation of the Portuguese camp, the strength of their army, and their exact discipline, they then marched back into the city, and spread a general consternation amongst the inhabitants. They sent out of the place all their valuable effects, together with their wives and children, keeping only such as could be of service in defending the city.

But, before we proceed any farther, it may not be improper to give some description of this part of Africa. South-west of the straits of Gibraltar lies the province of Duccala, a rich and fertile country, through which runs a river, called by the Arabians Omrabith, and by some others Asama. On the banks of this river, not far from the sea, stands the city of Mazagam, containing within its walls about five thousand houses, which in general are large, and many of them in a grand taste. The inhabitants were polite and civilized. The town was divided into four districts, each of which had its own ruler, and all these subject to one chief magistrate. They have a large extent of land, which is cultivated by the wild Arabs, who, being unacquainted with the luxury of the citizens, are esteemed braver and better soldiers. They have no houses, but live in large tents: they use a spare diet, and are inured to the exercise of arms. The province is divided into three parts, each of which derives its

its name from those particular Arabians who took possession thereof, after having driven out the ancient inhabitants. One was called Xelquia, another Dabida, and the third Garatia. These were again divided into tribes, each of which had a particular captain, and lived in tents separate from those of the other tribes; yet, being all in alliance, they mutually assist each other in any common danger. In this manner the inhabitants of Azamor could be supplied with vast numbers of horse and foot, upon any sudden emergency.

But to return to our subject. On the 1st of August the duke of Braganza marched with his army, drawn up in battle-array, towards Azamor; and he ordered Pedro Alphonso Aquilar to bring the artillery and ammunition up the river in small vessels. But being informed that the enemy had prepared a great many floats of timber, covered with pitch, tar, and other combustibles, which they intended to set fire to, and send down on the Portuguese ships, he resolved to destroy these preparations. Garcia Melos, and Aquilar, with a body of archers, being sent on this expedition, executed their orders, notwithstanding all the opposition of the enemy, who annoyed them with their darts. Francisco Pedrosa, who commanded the advanced guard, going forward to examine the road, was set upon by a squadron of horse: he made a most gallant defence, but the enemy pouring in from all quarters, would certainly have overpowered Pedrosa and his men, if not seasonably succoured by John Monez, commander of the van, who came up with a body of his choicest cavalry. The enemy, however, still increasing, the Portuguese were nigh giving ground, when the conde di Borbe advanced quickly to their assistance. A little after Jasper Vasco, a very brave officer, came up with a heavy column of foot and a few horse, and flung himself betwixt our people and the enemy, who made several attempts to break through the column; but finding all their efforts in vain, they lost ground, and began to fly.

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In this action several of the enemy were killed; amongst whom was one Cidaco, a person of the most distinguished courage, in whom the people of Azamor had the highest confidence, and whose fall had greatly damped their spirits. This man had formerly been in the interest of Emmanuel, and had done him many signal services, but afterwards revolted from him.

The Portuguese still preserved their ranks, and in this order approached the city that night. They pitched their tents along the banks of the river, that they might be near the ships. Next day the general ordered all the artillery to be brought ashore, that they might immediately set about battering the walls. About noon three lines of the enemy came out of the city, and offered our people battle. Vasco Coutign, conde di Borbe, desired he might be sent against them; but was refused: for the duke said it was below his dignity to trifle away his time in small skirmishes, being, he said, resolved to put an end to the war by one general engagement, or by the immediate storming of the town. He, therefore, instantly ordered the covered galleries to be moved up to the walls, the batteries to play, and the scaling ladders to be applied. John Monez was the chief engineer, and conductor of the siege. In this affair he chiefly employed Lewis Monez and George Barreto, with the soldiers of Algarve; together with Sylvio, and the soldiers sent by the bishop of Sylves; who all executed every thing with the utmost order, as well as intrepidity. Our people having brought their galleries close to the walls, carried on the siege at the same time by storming as well as undermining. The enemy, on the other hand, with darts, arrows, and stones, endeavoured to drive off the assailants, and wounded several of them. They also threw down red-hot kettles, and bee-hives set on fire, with a great number of bees, at once to destroy the works and annoy the besiegers. Cide Manzor, one of the enemy's most renowned generals, at that time had the command of the city, and greatly distinguished

gushed himself by his bravery and vigilance. He animated every one with his presence, and brought assistance where-ever the attack was hottest: he not only encouraged by words, but by his example; rushing to meet danger, and calling aloud to his men to fight to the last drop of their blood, for their religion, their liberty, and their lives. Whilst this man lived, there was not one amongst the besieged but performed his duty with the utmost alacrity and spirit. But towards this evening, Cide Manzor received a shot in his breast, which put an end to his life and valour. The enemy were so affected with the loss of so great a man, that they set up the most lamentable shrieking, and immediately abandoned the city. They made their escape from all the gates, and thronged out in such confusion, that above eighty were found near the gate, who had been pressed to death in the crowd.

Before break of day a Portuguese Jew, named Jacob Adib, one of those who had been driven from Portugal, called from the walls to Diego Berrio (whom he had known very intimately formerly): he desired this man to lead him instantly to the general, whom he informed of the inhabitants having deserted the city. For this piece of news the Jew received a promise of his living, and enjoying all his effects, in security; and the same concession likewise to all his brother Jews.

The general having entered the city, ordered Emmanuel's standard to be fixed on the walls; and one of the Arabian mosques being purified and consecrated, publick thanksgivings were offered up there for this success. The Portuguese soldiers rummaged for booty, but found nothing of value, except a large quantity of corn. The inhabitants of Tite, not many miles from Azamor, being alarmed, left their city in the utmost trepidation, which was immediately taken possession of by the Portuguese: the government of this place was committed to Jehabentaf. The citizens of Almadine, being seized with the like panick, deserted their city: here the general immediately placed a numerous garri-
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son, and appointed Nunez Fernando Ataide to be governor; to whom, as well as Jehabentaf, he earnestly recommended that they would use the mildest methods to bring back the citizens, who, if they took the oaths of allegiance, and became tributary to Emmanuel, should enjoy their liberty and property secure, under the protection of his Portuguese majesty. By these prudent measures, both the cities soon became populous, and in a more flourishing condition than they had ever been.

Emmanuel having received an express of the success of his arms, ordered days to be set apart for rendering praise and thanks to God. He likewise sent letters to the pope, who also offered up thanksgivings for the late success of the christian arms in Africa; and appointed a person of great eloquence to pronounce an oration in praise of Emmanuel, who had always shewn the greatest zeal for propagating the christian religion.

In the mean while there was great animosity and murmuring against the general amongst the Portuguese at Azamor; and this not only from the common soldiers, but also amongst those of higher rank. For as the city of Azamor had been so easily carried, and with so inconsiderable a loss, this induced many to think, that, if the duke would march his army into Morocco, he might quickly reduce the whole kingdom under the power of Emmanuel: for, said they, if a few of our officers, with a handful of men, were able to drive the king to flight, what may we not effect when the war is carried on with so formidable an army? Besides, added they, the Moors are at present weak in arms, and know but little of the method of drawing up armies. Their cities, likewise, are unskilfully fortified; so that it will be no difficult matter to carry them at the first assault. The princes of the country are but weak, nor are they firmly united amongst themselves; and it will be extremely easy, at a little expence, to stir them up against each other. The people themselves abound in punic arts, are fickle, inconstant, bound by no
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ties of honour nor religion; and as they are always forming plots and schemes against each other, this makes them extremely suspicious and distrustful. This being the case, their strength and security must be upon a very slender foundation: so that, if a powerful army was to be led into such a country, the consequence would be, that the people, who generally adapt themselves to times and circumstances, would prove treacherous to one another, and thus a mutual distrust would arise. For is it to be doubted but many, in order to gain favour with the conquerors, would betray their princes? For as nothing is more dangerous than to attack a people firmly united amongst themselves, so likewise nothing is more easy than to overcome those who are divided by animosity and faction. Moreover, said they, the war can be carried on at a small expence; for the lands are fruitful, and the country abounds with cattle; so that, even if the war should prove tedious, the army may still be supplied with all sorts of provisions. Besides, it was alledged that the present posture of affairs was another great incitement. The Portuguese army was entire, the soldiers in high spirits, and led on by the most able commanders. The enemy, on the other hand, were sunk and dispirited; for which reason, if our people were to attack them in their present condition, the war would certainly in a short time be ended, to the great advantage of Emmanuel, and the glory of the christian name.

This and such like was the talk of many of the Portuguese; nor were there wanting several, who frequently teased the general on this head. There was, in particular, one John de Chiava, a priest of the Franciscan order, afterwards made bishop of Vise, who handled the subject very fully from the pulpit, before the general himself; regretting, in the strongest manner, that he should neglect so fair an opportunity of aggrandizing the Portuguese. The duke of Braganza, being thus publickly censured, thought proper to answer the priest in the church. He said, he was not ignorant

ignorant that his character had been aspersed, and his conduct highly blamed; but, as for his part, he regarded not the calumny of mankind, and was resolved to act according to the dictates of sound sense and reason. That he had the utmost affection for his prince, and would always be obedient to his orders; and as Emmanuel had sent him to Africa, not that he might march into Morocco, but to storm Azamor, therefore if he should attempt any thing farther, it would be without the authority or sanction of his royal master.

‘ If (continued he) the siege had lasted for several
‘ months, if the greatest part of our army had been
‘ cut off before we carried the place, then this would
‘ have been reckoned a famous conquest, and sufficient
‘ to satisfy the ambition of every one: but now, as
‘ the Divine Goodness has enabled us to carry the city
‘ in one day, and without the loss of one man, the
‘ victory, as it has been cheap, is therefore under-
‘ valued; as if it was more noble to slaughter the ene-
‘ my than to save our own people from destruction.
‘ But, for my own part, I esteem it much more glo-
‘ rious to preserve the life of one countryman, than to
‘ cut off multitudes of the enemy. Many urge me to
‘ pursue the war; but this, in my apprehension, is
‘ not so easy an affair as they give out: for tho’ the
‘ princes may disagree amongst themselves at present,
‘ yet, from the knowledge of human nature, we have
‘ reason to believe they will unite their strength to
‘ ward off the common danger. If the kings of Fez
‘ and Morocco, Xerifus, and the princes of the moun-
‘ tains, should join their forces to oppose us; if this
‘ was to be the case, I say, I am afraid many, who
‘ are now the stoutest advocates for war, and harangue
‘ the multitude with vast boldness, would, in time of
‘ danger, shew less intrepidity: at least, we have often
‘ found it to be so from common observation. Besides,
‘ they do not consider that it is impossible for a nume-
‘ rous army to live by plunder alone, for any consi-
‘ derable time: and, if the enemy should cut us off
‘ from

' from supplies, our numbers then, instead of being
 ' an advantage, would become our greatest misfor-
 ' tune. The harvest is already over, and the corn
 ' has been carried into distant parts; so that it will be
 ' extremely easy for the enemy to destroy us by fa-
 ' mine. The summer likewise is now at an end, and
 ' the winter approaches, which will protract the war
 ' much longer than some rash and foolish mortals have
 ' imagined. Another reason for my not pursuing the
 ' war is, that the king has reserved this enterprize for
 ' himself: and, if we should endeavour to rob him of
 ' this honour, it would be the highest insult which
 ' could be offered to his majesty. As for my part, I
 ' have executed the orders of my royal master; nor
 ' would I refuse to sacrifice my life for his honour: and
 ' whilst I acquit myself to his satisfaction, I am indif-
 ' ferent what the world judge of me. Neither do
 ' these men properly understand the danger that a gene-
 ' ral runs into, who enters on a war without the ex-
 ' press orders of his prince. If the attempt should
 ' prove unsuccessful, every body would condemn his
 ' folly and presumption: nay, if he was to come off
 ' victorious, yet even this would not secure him from
 ' reproach and obloquy. As for my part, I have exe-
 ' cuted the orders of my prince: I have taken the
 ' city in one day, and now I intend to lead off the
 ' army safe. And as we have had such surprising suc-
 ' cess, lay aside your calumny and detraction, and
 ' return thanks to God for his extraordinary goodness.'

This speech did, indeed, silence the general talk; but
 yet there are many who greatly lamented that such an
 opportunity should have been neglected. The general,
 however, persisted in his resolution of not going be-
 yond his orders. He was soon after obliged to return
 for Portugal, by reason of a violent swelling in one of
 his thighs, which rendered him incapable of sitting on
 horseback. Having intrusted the army to Francisco
 Portugal, a nobleman of great renown, he went for
 Mazagran, from whence he set out for Portugal. He

landed at Javira in Algarve: thence he proceeded to Almeir, where Emmanuel then resided, who received him with the highest marks of honour.

The greatest part of the army was soon after sent for Portugal. Roderigo Barreto and John Monez were left at Azamor; the former, to guard the city; and the latter, to wage war with the neighbouring nations. Nunez Ferdinando Ataide was by this time returned to Saffia, after having done the Moors considerable damage. Monez and Barreto being likewise unwilling that their men should remain in a state of inaction, and having been informed that the inhabitants of some villages in Xerque, about thirty miles from Azamor, ranged about in great security, they marched forth from the city on the evening, in the beginning of the year 1514. They had with them one thousand foot and twelve hundred cavalry, and marched that night twenty-four miles. They took possession of the Green Mountain, so called from its beautiful appearance, and the perpetual verdure with which it is covered. By day-break they attacked the village of Bencafiz, which is of a circular form, and rises gradually from the bottom of the mountain. Many of the inhabitants were slain, and many taken prisoners, and several were driven headlong into the river which runs to Azamor: the village was plundered and burnt. Bernardo Emmanuel and John Sylvio, who had been sent out by Monez, had likewise set upon another village, which they found deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled in the utmost trepidation. Our people having traced the footsteps of the enemy, came at last to the river, where they found a considerable body of the Moors, many of whom had already swam across the river, and the rest were preparing to follow. Several of them, however, were determined to oppose our people: but the greatest part of them being scattered, and driven to flight, the rest threw themselves headlong into the river, where many of them were killed by the missile weapons of our people. Bernardo
having

having marched off with his booty, joined Monez; and thus the whole army entered the city with a large train of prisoners, and a considerable number of cattle.

Not far from Saffia lies the province of Hea, the capital city of which is Tedneft, situated in a spacious and fertile plain, where there is a mosque of great fame, held in the utmost veneration, and much frequented by the Moors. Xerifius had likewise a magnificent palace in this city, with large and beautiful gardens, stocked with fish-ponds, and watered with canals. Here, at his leisure hours, he used frequently to amuse himself. Ataide formed a design to attack this city, and accordingly sent a letter to Monez, advising him of his intention, and at the same time desiring his assistance; for he thought such an enterprize ought to be entered upon with their joint forces. Ataide, however, did not wait for Monez: he marched out of the city with four hundred cavalry, being likewise accompanied with Jehabentaf, who led forth two thousand cavalry and seven hundred foot. When they approached Tedneft, Xerif came out to meet them, with four thousand horse. Ataide commanded the rear; and Jehabentaf, who led the van, advanced against Xerif with great boldness: Ataide remained only as a spectator of the conflict, which was fought with great heat and obstinacy on both sides. Xerif, however, was at last routed, and put to flight by Jehabentaf: great numbers of the enemy were killed on the spot. The booty on this occasion was greater than had ever been known in any rencounter with the Moors, our people having carried off above two hundred thousand head of cattle, three thousand camels, and a considerable number of horse. Ataide having then entered the city of Tedneft, sat down in quiet: from thence he wrote a letter to Monez, giving him an account of this success. Azamor is about one hundred and sixty miles distant from that city: the distance of the place was the reason that Monez could not come sooner to Ataide. He

was then on his march with seven hundred and fifty horse and one thousand foot: as he passed along the country, he was received by the Moorish governors and princes in the most honourable manner. He at length reached a little town called Chiquere, where there is a Mahometan mosque, held in the highest veneration by the inhabitants; for it is said to have been founded by the orders of Mahomet himself. Monez had taken this place in his way to Morocco; for Chiquere was about thirty-six miles from thence. From thence he wrote to Ataide, inviting him to be a sharer in the present undertaking. Ataide, however, wrote back to him, telling him he was so much engaged in making laws, and drawing up treaties, that he could not leave the city of Tednest. He at the same time told him, that Morocco ought to be attacked with a larger strength; and if he ventured on such an attempt with so small a force, it would be only sacrificing his men, to no manner of purpose: he, therefore, intreated Monez to desist from the attempt. Monez was accordingly persuaded, and came to Ataide. About the same time Alphonso Norhona, Ataide's son-in-law, arrived with eighty cavalry: he had been sent out to surprize a strong town, situate on the highest part of the mountain; but the enemy had deserted it before his approach: a few of them, however, were taken prisoners. Soon after the army received some other reinforcements, Monez then renewed his desire of marching for Morocco, which he thought might be easily taken: but Ataide being afraid lest, if this scheme should take place, the greatest share of the glory would belong to Monez, for this reason, as many think, he would not accompany him in the expedition: this not a little disgusted Monez and all his officers. Some time after Monez had left Ataide, he received intelligence that the kings of Fez and Mequinez were marching with a powerful army to besiege Azamor, which made him hasten thither with all possible expedition. In his way he received letters from Roderigo Barreto, confirming

firming the same news, and desiring him, if possible, to quicken his speed. Being likewise cautioned to beware lest the kings might surprize him on the road, he sent letters to Bernardo Emmanuel, and other men of distinction, who had remained with Ataide, desiring them to come with all speed, and to bring along with them a supply of arms and ammunition. Passing through Almedine, he was received in the most honourable manner by Almeiam, governor of the city; who likewise warned him to beware of the king of Fez's generals: for, he said, he had received certain notice that they were gone before with eight hundred horse and six thousand foot. He then proceeded in his march, with his men drawn up in such order as if they had been just going to engage the enemy. But whether the report of the king of Fez's generals being upon the road was false, or whether the enemy were not watchful enough, is uncertain to determine; for Monez came with all his forces to Azamor without the least obstacle. There he received intelligence, that the king of Fez had dispatched two of his generals into Ducala, with numerous forces, to guard that province; and that the king of Mequinez, then at Nafe, (a noted city in Mequinez) was likewise very soon expected with a powerful army. This prince had formed a design of marching to Azamor, in conjunction with the king of Fez's generals, in order to invest that place. But Monez thought it most prudent to march against the enemy, before they had time to join their forces. Having heard that the king of Fez's army lay encamped near a pretty strong town, called Balba, he resolved to attack them before they departed from thence: he sent immediately an express to Ataide, desiring his presence in this action, in which he said he might acquire great fame, and do Emmanuel extraordinary service. Ataide agreed to the proposal, and their place of rendezvous was fixed at a town about twenty four miles from Balba, called Sea. Monez set out on his march, on the 12th of April, with eight hundred

dred horse and one thousand foot; and the following day he encamped on a large plain, by the side of a morass. The same day he was joined by Ataide and Jehabentaf, who brought with them fifteen hundred cavalry, the greatest part of whom were Moors.

A council of war being held, it was resolved that they should decamp secretly in the night, in order, if possible, to surprize the enemy by break of day. The cavalry was divided into five lines, the first commanded by Monez, the second by Roderigo Barreto, and the third by Gundiffalvo Camara, in which was Alvaro de Carval and John Sylvio, who were likewise to act as commanding officers. Ataide, and Alphonso Norbona, his son-in-law, were at the head of the fourth line; and the fifth was intrusted to Jehabentaf. These five lines were supported by a strong body of infantry, under the command of Pedro Moral and John Roderigo. The baggage, together with the artillery, were placed in the centre of the army; and in this manner they continued their march. Monez went about amongst all the lines, encouraging the officers as well as soldiers to behave with courage and intrepidity. By day-break they came in sight of the enemy's camp, which stood in a plain, not far from a very high mountain. Monez having observed a place very convenient for the engagement, ordered the infantry to take possession of it as soon as possible. The enemy had above four thousand cavalry, and their foot was almost innumerable. Behind the enemy's camp there was a river, which separated the plain from the mountain; but though it was then almost dry, yet the torrent, being before swelled to a great degree by the rains, had worn the channel so deep, that the enemy could not pass without being very much incommoded. Their forces were drawn up in four lines: in the first they had placed their infantry, armed with musquets and cross-bows, in order to annoy the first line of the Portuguese with their darts, and other missive weapons. Monez and his men having invoked St. James, according to the
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Spanish custom, he then gave the signal, and rushed on the enemy with so much fury, that he not only discomfited their first line before they had time to do any execution on our people, but also routed their cavalry, and drove them headlong into the channel. Ataide, to whom it had been assigned to attack one of the lines of the enemy's cavalry, finding that they were gone to oppose Monez, he fell upon their foot, and made great slaughter. Monez having pursued the enemy as far as the channel, was now desirous to keep back his men; but many of them, not regarding his authority, continued the pursuit. Monez was, indeed, endowed with almost every qualification requisite to form a great general; but the humanity and mildness of his disposition made him rather too remiss in keeping up a strict discipline: hence it was, that at this juncture several young noblemen, more brave than prudent, presumed to act contrary to the orders of so great a general, and rushed headlong into danger. Monez sent Garcia, his nephew, to recall them: this gentleman, accordingly, galloping full speed, came up with these youths, and earnestly intreated them to return. He had prevailed with almost all of them to comply, when Ayres Tellio, a youth of the first distinction, though rash, and immoderately fond of glory, called aloud, 'This is not a time for retreating: my fellow soldiers, let us pursue these Moors even to Fez.' The rest, being animated by these words, were for pushing forwards against the enemy. Garcia perceiving them obstinate in their resolution, 'Since you will have it so then,' (said he) 'let us drive them beyond Fez;' and accordingly joined himself with them.

Monez foresaw what would be the consequence of this rash step, and he therefore passed the channel of the river, in order to receive these youths, when driven back. He, at the same time, sent on a detachment of the foot, to withstand the shock of the enemy. Ataide did not chuse to follow Monez, lest he might thereby break the order of his forces, but remained on the op-

posite bank, being prepared to repulse the enemy, if they should endeavour to repass that way. Jehabentaf could not be of any service at this juncture; for the Moors, whom he commanded, seeing the enemy flying, could not be restrained by their officers, but went in quest of plunder. In the mean while the enemy, who had retired to the mountain, having perceived the small number of those who pursued them, turned upon them with great fury, and drove them to a precipitate flight. Thus those youths suffered for their rashness, the most of them being killed in their retreat, amongst whom was Ayres Tello and Garcia. The enemy having recovered themselves from their former panic, and being now somewhat elated by this success, rushed forward upon Monez, and obliged him to retire to the opposite bank: this, however, they did not accomplish without the loss of a good deal of blood. In this action our people lost about fifty men, and had above one hundred wounded. Of the enemy there were killed that day two thousand six hundred men; amongst whom was one of the king of Fez's two generals: the other, having received a wound, fell from his horse, and was in the greatest danger, but was luckily rescued and carried off the field by some of his soldiers. Seven more of their chief officers were likewise killed; above four thousand were wounded, and two hundred and eighty made prisoners, amongst whom were the wives and sons of the Xerquian generals, who had been in the battle. This might have been accounted a complete and honourable victory, had it not been sullied by the rashness of those precipitate youths. The enemy, as soon as they saw the Portuguese forces rejoined, fled back in great disorder; and our people, having divided the plunder, marched away without the least molestation.

The kings of Fez and Mequinez, had not yet received the news of this disaster, and were extremely eager in carrying on their design against Azamor. Nazer, the latter of these princes, accordingly marched
for

for that city with a formidable army: in his way thither he likewise received a considerable reinforcement from Mahumed king of Fez. The enemy were so numerous that they spent a week in passing the river, which runs to Azamor. Monez being informed of these things, sent an express thereof to Bernado Emmanuel, who accordingly made all necessary preparations to hold out a siege. But Nazer being by this time apprized of the late defeat, altered his resolution, and marched for Almedine, where he laid waste the neighbouring lands, and made great deprivations. He likewise took the city; Almeiman the governor and most of the garrison fled to Saffia: those who remained were put to the sword. Jehabentaf not having a sufficient force to cope with so numerous an enemy, sent for a reinforcement from Ataide, who being afraid of a siege, could spare but a very few men, he therefore resolved to march for Saffia. But first he set about stopping up all the wells, in order to distress the enemy by want of water. Whilst he was employed in this manner, the king came upon him so suddenly, that he could not avoid an engagement, which was accordingly fought with great obstinacy on both sides. Jehabentaf lost some of his cavalry, amongst whom was one Benamira, an officer of great valour. Nazer lost likewise fifty of his cavalry, and amongst the rest the general of the king of Fez's reinforcement. Jehabentaf behaved in this affair with such extraordinary courage, that he filled every one with admiration. Being overpower'd by numbers he was obliged to quit the field; the enemy pursued but faintly: Jehabentaf, however, in the retreat lost one thousand camels: he pitched his camp in a place surrounded by walls, which had been assigned him by Ataide for that purpose.

Mean while the king being in the utmost distress for want of water, was obliged to dig for springs to relieve his men; and thus he spent his time without performing any thing memorable. Jehabentaf had
formed

formed a design one night to storm his camp; but Nazer being apprized of it, removed his camp to a place of greater strength. The Moors of Xerque, when they perceived the king to behave with so much pusillanimity, conceived the highest contempt and detestation of him. It not a little moved their indignation, that after he had given out he would besiege Azamor or Saffia, and was provided with such a numerous army to execute this design, yet his cowardice was so great that he dared not to venture on either of these attempts. What greatly piqued them too, was, that they themselves, deceived by these false hopes, had revolted from Emmanuel. They were now therefore determined to do somewhat, whereby they might at once take vengeance on that dastardly prince, and restore themselves to the favour and friendship of his Portuguese majesty. The king of Mequinez was then encamped near the town of Tazarote; they accordingly in violation of their faith, attacked the camp by surprize, and having made great havock, obliged the king's forces to fly: they took about eight hundred horses, and made above one thousand of his men prisoners, whom they dragged to slavery. The king being thus stripped of his camp, with great loss and ignominy, fled to the mountains, from whence he returned to his own kingdom.

Monez, in the mean while, was seized with a severe fit of sickness. Whilst he lay in this indisposition, he received a letter from Emmanuel, who bestowed upon him the highest encomiums, and promised him such rewards as his extraordinary services merited. He was unable, however, to return an answer to this letter: nor indeed, at this juncture, did he think on this frail and wretched life, for his whole affections were raised to a future state. His distemper was so violent, that he was soon carried off, and he quitted his earthly prison with such marks of piety and devotion, as gives us room to think that he increased the number of those who enjoy an everlasting felicity

city in the blessed regions above. He was a man not only endowed with all the qualifications requisite to form a soldier and a general, but also possessed the utmost mildness and clemency, and excelled in all the politest and most genteel accomplishments. His purity of life, and chastity of manners was such as is seldom to be met with in those of a military profession: nor at the same time, was he void of passion for the female sex; on the contrary, he was of the most amorous disposition, but he never allowed his passion to degenerate into lust, and always kept within the bounds of modesty and innocence. He was dreaded by his enemies, and beloved by his soldiery; so that his death was lamented with universal sorrow and regret. He was also a gentleman of fine genius and capacity, of which we have a testimony in that exquisite poem which he has left us in the Portuguese language. He was, however, extremely superstitious, and melancholy by fits, even to madness. But these failings could not be seen, amidst such a crowd of virtues; nay, much greater ones might have escaped notice, in a man possessed of so many excellencies. In his place Pedro Souza succeeded, who was afterwards created Conde di Prado, and Roderigo Bareto returned to Portugal.

This year Pedro Plenez, Conde di Alcoutin, made frequent incursions on the Moors, and did them considerable damage: on the month of July, he entered the confines of Tetuan, where he killed and took prisoners several of the enemy. In the beginning of October he received intelligence, that the king of Fez's two brothers were marching with a body of ten thousand cavalry, and a vast number of infantry to besiege Ceuta: and that there was likewise a fleet fitted out, in order to invest the city at once by sea and land. Some of the enemy placed themselves in ambuscade in a wood, whence they sent out twenty five of their cavalry, in order to decoy our people. These men ventured as far as the place where the Portuguese

guese guards were stationed. Pedro Menez dispatched fifteen of his horse against them, and he himself followed with one hundred and fifteen more, by way of reserve, in case the enemy should have formed some stratagem, as he strongly suspected. Our people accordingly marched against this advanced party of the enemy, who retreated till they came to the place where the rest lay in ambush. The Portuguese having perceived the artifice, immediately retired to Menez, being pursued at first by above two hundred and fifty of the enemy's horse, and many more, who soon after followed. Menez thought it most prudent to keep his men within the rampart which surrounded the city; but he could not hinder many of the enemy, who were mingled with his own people, from entering. But having turned upon them, he charged them with great fury. In this rencounter above two hundred of their men were killed on the spot, whilst the Portuguese lost only one, and had about thirty six wounded. In the mean while the king of Fez's two brothers came up with their whole army, and the transports were likewise landed. Their design was to destroy the rampart, and, if possible, to hinder the Portuguese from entering the city. But Menez with great dexterity drew off all his men in safety; and having shut the gates of Ceuta, he made so stout a defence, that all the efforts of the enemy proved fruitless. The assailants lost many of their men, whose bodies they carried aboard their ships, with marks of the deepest sorrow: for most of those who had fallen, were youths of rising fame, who had given early proofs of their magnanimity.

At this juncture the name of Emmanuel was greatly dreaded by the Moors, whilst at the same time he was universally revered for his justice and clemency, inasmuch, that many of the Moorish nations dispirited with their misfortunes in war, and sick of the oppression of their own princes, ardently sought to come under the sovereignty and protection of his Portuguese majesty, and agreed to pay what tribute he should impose.

pose. Not only several cities submitted, but also those who lived in the villages on the mountains, having been so often foiled in their attempts, now at last thought proper, for their own safety, to come under the Portuguese government. The inhabitants of Xerque sent at this time some of their chief men, as ambassadors to Emmanuel, surrendering themselves to his power; and petitioning that Xerque might be separated from Dabida and Garabia, and that they might have Audaramen for their governor. This they did not mean as any offence to Jehabentaf; but they thought that the country of Duccala was too extensive to be under the government of one man alone; and therefore that Dabida and Garabia were sufficient to employ his authority. Besides Audaramen, whom they pitched upon, had been bred up under Jehabentaf, and there was no doubt but he would always remain attached to his interest. This petition seemed extremely reasonable, calculated at once to promote the peace and welfare of the province, as well as the advantage of Emmanuel; for, by granting their request, this would engage their fidelity; nor was it likely they would refuse to pay a tribute, to which they themselves had consented. The ambassadors were accordingly received in the most gracious manner; and Emmanuel acquiesced with their proposal, on condition, that as often as the three provinces of Duccala should join all their forces, they should then acknowledge and obey Jehabentaf as their generalissimo. He likewise enacted a law, forbidding any person to pass from one tribe to another, lest, by this means, there should arise some disturbances, which might produce fatal consequences. He sent letters to Ataide and Pedro Sousa, advising them of these things; and likewise to Jehabentaf, who very cheerfully came into these measures.

This same year Nunez Fernando Ataide sent Lopez to Xerque, to demand the corn which was to be furnished by the farmers, and to be carried to Azamor. Lopez having executed his commission, set out for that
city

city with the Moors, who brought several horses loaded with corn. In their way thither they were met by sixty of the Portuguese cavalry, who came from Azamor. The Moors imagined they came with a hostile intention, and accordingly prepared to give them a warm reception; but Lopez having interposed, prevented them from coming to blows: however, it was with the greatest difficulty that he could appease the Moors; for they said they disregarded Soufa, and that it was Ataide with whom they had agreed to furnish the corn. They said likewise that Soufa, after he came to the government of Azamor, had done them many shameful injuries, for which reason they would not set foot in that city; but insisted, that the sixty cavalry should carry the corn to Azamor. Lopez, however, so far won their affections by his mild behaviour, that he prevailed on them to go to Morocco under his conduct. He accordingly chose out four hundred and twenty-three of their cavalry: with these he set out, together with twenty-seven of the Portuguese horse; and having come up next day with a party of the enemy's cavalry, about four miles from Morocco, he killed several of them, took fifty-three prisoners, and carried off a considerable number of camels, as well as many other cattle. They advanced at last to Morocco, where the Moors rushed up to the very gates with their spears, calling out, 'Emmanuel, Emmanuel for ever!' The king, being alarmed with this sudden danger, marched out to oppose them: they, on the other hand, made a most gallant defence; and having killed four of the enemy's cavalry, they retreated in safety to the place whence they had set out with Lopez. There the booty was divided, and the Moors returned to Xerque. Lopez entered Saffia with his captives: he was beheld with the highest admiration. It seemed amazing, and almost incredible, that a man of so low a rank, with so small a force, and those Moors too, should have ventured on so bold an enterprize; which the brave

Ataide himself, when invited by Monez, thought too hazardous to attempt.

Towards the end of this year Emmanuel sent three ambassadors to pope Leo X. with presents of great value. Tristan Cugna was the chief of this embassy, and he had two eminent lawyers for his colleagues: one was Diego Pacheco, and the other John Faria. By these gentlemen he sent to his holiness a set of pontifical robes of the richest embroidery, and adorned with the most precious jewels. He added likewise several golden fonts, together with the most costly necklaces, all of exquisite workmanship. He sent also an Indian elephant, of a surprising size; such, I believe, as had not been seen at Rome, when in the height of her grandeur. An animal of such an amazing bulk drew crowds of people from all parts to behold it. There was likewise a very fine panther, which I scarce think could have been equaled by the Roman ædiles of old, when they exhibited the publick shows of wild beasts. This creature was tame; but had been trained up in such a manner, that it would engage the boars and stags in the forest, and by this means afforded vast sport to those of the nobility who had a fancy for hunting. The panther was placed on a horse, adorned with the richest furniture, and managed by a Persian huntsman, who had been sent to Emmanuel by the king of Ormus, together with the horse and panther. Tristan Cugna, as he was a man of high rank and authority, added likewise not a little to the grandeur of the embassy by his own retinue. He carried with him his three sons, and a great many of his relations, together with a numerous train of domesticks; so that he made an appearance not inferior to that of a prince. Garcia Resendo, a man of great authority with the king, was secretary to the embassy.

On the 12th of March 1504, the ambassadors entered Rome in the following order. The domesticks, clothed in the richest liveries, went first. Next came the Persian huntsman, leading the horse with the panther:

ther: he was followed by the elephant, with its manager. The next in the procession was Nicholas Faria, the king's equerry, who rode on a fine horse, covered with the richest trappings; which was likewise intended as a present for his holiness. At some distance came the nobility who accompanied the ambassadors, and added not a little lustre to the procession. After these the Portuguese herald marched, bearing the ensigns of royalty. He was followed by the three ambassadors, Tristan Cugna being in the middle. They were met by the cardinals, as well as several princes, and by them were introduced into the city. The chief magistrate of Rome, with the priests, received them at the gates: he made a congratulatory speech, wherein he bestowed the highest encomiums on Emmanuel, for the fervent zeal he had always shewn for the christian religion. Then the Roman marshals came, and settled the order of the procession through the city. In the mean while the streets resounded with the sound of trumpets, and all sorts of musical instruments. The procession was preceded by a company of Swiss guards; but the crowd of spectators which lined the streets was so great, that they could hardly clear the way. When they came to Hadrian's pillar they were saluted by a discharge of guns, which shook the houses with their noise. In this manner the procession was conducted, and the pope beheld the whole solemnity from a window.

On the 20th of the same month the ambassadors were conducted to the pope's palace with the same form, where his holiness, seated on a throne in his pontifical robes, waited to give them audience. Tristan Cugna produced his credential letters, which were read in publick. Then Diego Pacheco delivered a most excellent oration, wherein he expressed himself so elegantly, and displayed such a graceful elocution, that he gained universal applause. The pope made a most eloquent reply in the Latin tongue: in this he bestowed the

the highest encomiums on Emmanuel, and the whole Portuguese nation.

The following day the ambassadors were introduced into a green behind the pope's palace, on mount Vatican, where his holiness waited on them to receive the presents from Emmanuel, which seemed not a little to please his fancy, and raise his admiration. He then went into his garden, to see the elephant and panther. At his holiness's desire there were some beasts brought before the panther, which, being let loose by the huntsman, attacked and killed them with a most surprising agility. A few days after the ambassadors laid the particulars of their embassy before the pope, the chief of which was, that the third and tenth parts of the church revenues in Portugal, might be assigned to defray the expences of the war against the Moors. This request was accordingly granted by his holiness.

About this time Emmanuel received another embassy, which was extremely grateful to him. We have mentioned already one Matthew, an Armenian, who had been sent ambassador to Emmanuel from the emperor of that part of Æthiopia which lies above Egypt. Albuquerque had received him in the most honourable manner, and sent him to Portugal. Those, however, to whom he was entrusted, out of a pique at Albuquerque, called Matthew a buffoon and impostor; and, instead of treating him as an ambassador, used him like a vile slave. These men were afterwards taken into custody, and would certainly have suffered punishment for this behaviour, had they not been pardoned, at the earnest intercession of the ambassador himself. But, in order to explain the nature and cause of this embassy, we must go up a little higher.

King John II. as we have taken notice of above, had a most ardent desire of making discoveries in the Indian regions: and having heard that there was a christian emperor called Prester John, who reigned in India, he became extremely solicitous of finding out this prince. He had seen several christian priests from

Æthiopia, who had travelled into Rome, France, Spain and Portugal; and he could not help conjecturing that they had come from those parts where Prester John reigned. He accordingly conversed with several of them, and enquired particularly whether they had not come from that country where such a prince reigned; and if his dominions did not border on India: they answered in the affirmative; for they thought that, if they were believed to be the subjects of Prester John, they should be treated with the greater respect and honour by all the princes in Christendom. This intelligence gave no little satisfaction to John; and, above all things, he desired to make a league with this prince: for he thought nothing could redound more to his honour, the interest of the christian religion, and the furtherance of his discoveries in India.

He accordingly, at different times, proffered great rewards to those who were skilled in the Arabian language, and would go in quest of this country. Alphonso Paiva and John Petreio undertook the affair, and set out from Portugal in the year 1486. They travelled through Egypt, in the habit of merchants, and arrived at the city of Aden: here they were informed, that there was a christian emperor who had very extensive dominions in that part of Æthiopia which lies below Egypt, and many princes were tributary to him, whom they imagined to be the person that John wanted to discover. But then what perplexed them was the situation of his dominions, and his name, neither of which agreed with those of the christian prince mentioned by John. After some deliberation it was therefore thought expedient, that Petreio should sail to India, in order to enquire whether there was such a prince as Prester John in those parts, and Paiva was to wait his return at Thebes in Egypt. There had formerly, indeed, been a christian prince of that name in the inland parts of India; but the Tartars having overpowered him by arms, had taken possession of his dominions; so that his name was now buried in oblivion.

vion. Petreio having spent a considerable time to no purpose, set out on his return to Egypt. At his arrival there he found two Jews, who brought letters to him and Paiva from his Portuguese majesty; but, as the Jews informed him, Paiva was dead. These two men, according to their instructions, went for Ormus. Petreio having travelled through several countries, went and visited the sepulchre of the virgin Catherine on mount Sinai. He then returned to Aden, and thence crossed over to Zeila; from whence he set out for the kingdom of the christian emperor in Æthiopia, whom he concluded to be the prince meant by John.

The name of this emperor was Alexander, who received John's letters in the utmost transports of joy, and treated Petreio in the most humane and polite manner: but it unluckily happened, that this prince died before he had wrote to John. As he had no son, he was succeeded by a brother, called Nau; from whom Petreio never could obtain permission to return to Portugal. This prince enjoyed the crown but a very short time. After his decease it came to his son David, who also refused to allow Petreio to depart from his dominions. These princes were so taken with his ingenuity and understanding, that they were unwilling to lose so valuable a person. Petreio, now despairing of ever returning to his native country, married a wife, by whom he had several sons, and thus became established in that country: In process of time it happened, that Vasco de Gama, having found out the new passage to India, made great discoveries in the eastern regions. The numerous fleets sent soon after, and the victories gained in India, spread the fame of the Portuguese all over the East. David had likewise heard of their exploits; and having understood that they were the same people whose prince had sent Petreio into Æthiopia, he became extremely desirous of forming an alliance with the king of such an illustrious nation. David himself was not yet of age, and his grandmother Helen, a woman of admirable sense, then ruled the kingdom:

he accordingly communicated his design to her, and both of them were of opinion, that nothing could tend more to their honour, and to the advancement of religion, than to be joined in strict union with a christian prince endowed with so many excellencies. For this purpose they pitched on an Armenian, named Matthew: he was a christian, and a man of excellent understanding. He had been long at their court; and in all employments with which he had been intrusted, had always acquitted himself with the highest probity and diligence. He brought with him a young nobleman from Æthiopia, who was desirous to become acquainted with the customs and manners of the Portuguese. These two persons accordingly sailed for India, in order to procure a passage in some of our ships to Portugal. As we have already mentioned, they were treated with great civility by Albuquerque; but met with a quite contrary usage from those who had the charge of conveying them to Lisbon.

This ambassador was received with the utmost civility, and was conducted to the royal palace by great numbers of the nobility and clergy. Three days after his arrival he was admitted to an audience of his majesty, in order to lay open the purport of his embassy, which he accordingly did with great perspicuity and elegance. He then produced letter from queen Helen, and a crucifix made of the wood of that cross on which our Saviour suffered, which he brought from David, as a present to Emmanuel, who received it with the most profound veneration, and returned thanks to God who had thus preserved the seeds of the Christian religion in regions so remote, and amidst such barbarous nations. He also produced another letter from David: they were all wrote in the Persian and Arabian language. In this David makes mention of the holy trinity with the highest adoration. He wishes Emmanuel all health and happiness, and returns him thanks for his letters. He talks very high of his own wealth and power, and says, if Emmanuel would attack the Mahometans by
sea,

sea, he himself would invade them by land; and he makes no doubt, but by their joint efforts, they might root out that impious people, and recover the land where the sepulchre of our Saviour is situated. He acknowledges Matthew as his embassador, and affirms the crucifix brought by him, to be made of the wood of that very cross on which the Saviour of the world suffered; he ardently desired to enter into an offensive and defensive league with Emmanuel, and at the same time proposes an alliance by marriage. He likewise runs out into the highest encomiums on Emmanuel; and says, that the wonderful exploits performed by his generals in India, were a strong indication that the Divine Providence interested itself in his behalf. He concludes with desiring him to go on with his glorious undertaking, and wishes him prosperity in all his laudable enterprizes. After the letters were read, the embassador was introduced to the king's table, where he was treated in the most sumptuous and elegant manner. But before we proceed further, it may not seem improper, if we give some description of the dominions of this Christian prince, as well as the manners and customs of the people.

The kingdom is bounded on the north by the confines of Egypt, and on the south by the mountains of the Moors, towards the east it is washed by part of the red sea. It extends a considerable way to the west, as far as Ægesimba, where the natives are black, with short fleecy hair of the same colour. Many of the mountains in this kingdom are inhabited by Arabians, who live independent of this Christian monarch: however, there are many princes subject to him, and who every year pay him a considerable quantity of gold, by way of tribute. The river Nilè is said to take its rise from the mountains of the moon: it forms many lakes and islands, and taking its course through Egypt, at Alexandria it discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea. Most of the mountains in this kingdom are said to be of a surprizing height, steep, crag-

gy, and the ascending path so narrow, that only one man can go up abreast. When you come to the summit you are agreeably surprized, for the tops of these mountains are covered with spacious and beautiful plains, watered with crystal springs and fine rivers. Here are to be seen vast numbers of oxen and all sorts of cattle, and great quantities of beehives, which yield honey in vast plenty. The country in general is extremely rich and fertile, and contains many mines of gold, silver and brass. It breeds many fine horses, and produces great plenty of cotton. There is no wine in the country, but the inhabitants use liquor made of honey and water, which is at once grateful to the taste, and wholesome for the constitution. The people seldom make use of medicines or drugs.

The natives of this country are excessively indolent; hence from their own slothfulness, and the want of proper hands, they do but little enjoy those blessings which nature has afforded them so lavishly. The king is continually at war with the neighbouring nations, so that he lives not in cities, but leads his life wholly in the camp: the number of his soldiers and tents is so considerable, that the camp extends twelve miles in length, and as many in breadth. It is formed with so much order and exactness, that notwithstanding it is often moved, yet every one knows the ways and paths so exactly, that he can go to the tent of any particular person, with as much facility, as a person can find out a street or house in a well-known city. The camp is divided into seven parishes, each of which has its own priest, who perform all religious ceremonies, instructing those committed to his charge, preaching sermons, and exhorting them to Christian temperance and moderation. The cities in this country are very small; their houses being built very low, make a sorry appearance, and the walls are extremely weak; yet their churches and monasteries are grand and magnificent buildings. The emperor of this people used to affect to be worshiped as a deity,

not

not so much as shewing his face even to his nobles, unless upon stated days. When any of his subjects came to pay their court to him, he used to stretch forth his foot or hand, but it was high treason to look at any other part of the royal person. When his majesty had a mind to return any answer, he made use of persons, by whom he spoke from behind a curtain, or from under a tripod, as of old the oracles delivered their responses. But afterwards when the king became acquainted with the Portuguese, and learnt the customs of other Christian princes, he laid aside this absurd affectation, and now it is lawful for the people to look at their sovereign, to speak to him, and to hear him. As to their religious ceremonies, they derive many of them from the Jews. Their males are circumcised on the eighth day after their birth, and their females also undergo something of the like nature. Although they use this ceremony of circumcision, yet they do not pretend to think that it has any efficacy to salvation, they only say they do it to keep up a lively remembrance of Abraham, and the holy patriarchs, that having such before their eyes, they may follow their righteous example. The males on the fortieth and the females on the eightieth day after circumcision are baptized, and the infants likewise, on the same day, take the eucharist in a cake of bread. They keep an annual commemoration of that day on which Christ being baptized by John in the river Jordan, established the sacrament of baptism; on this day they renew the form by dipping themselves. But they think the whole virtue lies in the first baptism alone, and these annual ceremonies they account only as external lustrations, which touch the body without purifying the soul. They keep them up in order more frequently to recall into their minds a lively sense and remembrance of the goodness of Christ, who sent for blood and water from his side, to wash and purify us from our iniquities. Their women after child-bearing, are debarred for some time from entering the

churches; if they are delivered of a male child, this restraint continues for forty days, and if a female, double that time. Their priests are allowed to marry once, but if their wife dies, they are obliged to live afterwards in a single state with the strictest chastity. If they are found guilty of adultery, or after the death of their wife have criminal conversation with any woman, they are immediately stripped of their priestly office. Every priest is obliged to refrain from his wife for several days before he administers the sacrament. This continency, they think, tends to heighten their devotion, and makes them execute this holy work with more zeal and purity. The monks are debarred from marriage altogether. No person is allowed to enter their churches, unless he is barefooted. Nor is it lawful for any one to laugh, talk, or to walk about in their places of worship; and it is accounted impious and profane to think on any thing there, but what concerns their religious duty, and adoration of the Supreme Deity. When they keep a fast, they eat nor drink nothing till sunset. They always abstain from such foods as are forbid by the Mosaic law. They often confess to their priests. The laity is allow'd to partake of the sacrament in both kinds. The institution of Monks was first founded amongst them by one Antonio, an Egyptian. The bishops are elected by the king, only the archbishop is chosen by the monks, and his authority is confirmed by that of the archbishop of Alexandria. As we have already mentioned, they adhere to many of the Jewish rites and customs, though, at the same time, they say they put no confidence in these, but rely entirely on the virtue and efficacy of Christ's death. They keep many holidays and festivals, and they pay a kind of adoration to the memory of those men who have been eminent for their religion and sanctity of manners. These are the ceremonies and customs of those Æthiopian Christians, whose emperor David sent an ambassador to Emmanuel. But several persons, from mere
envy

envy to Albuquerque, endeavoured to lessen the character of this ambassador with his Portuguese majesty; for they thought if they could make Matthew appear in a contemptible light, this would, at the same time, throw an odium on Albuquerque, who had behaved to him in so honourable a manner.

This year Albuquerque sent his nephew George to take upon him the government of Malacca, and he recalled to Goa Roderigo Britto, to whom that government had been assigned for a limited time, and which was now expired. George Albuquerque having coasted along Sumatra, put in with his ships at the port of Pacem. Here he received intelligence that the king was then engaged in war with one of the chiefs of his own kingdom, who had stirred up a revolt. As this prince was an ally of the Portuguese, George therefore assisted him, and by this means the rebels were soon routed: he then set sail for Malacca.

A few months after his arrival there, he received letters from his uncle, in which he was commanded to take the office of Bendara, or chief magistrate over the natives, from Ninachetu, and to confer it on the king of Campar. The dominions of this prince were very small, and lay to the south of Malacca. But the office of bendara was so honourable and important a trust, that he left his own kingdom, in order to take upon him this dignity. Albuquerque had pitched on this prince, because he had always shewn a particular attachment to the Portuguese interest. But it is not easy to assign the cause why Ninachetu was deprived of this honour: perhaps he had not executed his trust with such fidelity as was expected, or it is not improbable, that his disgrace was owing to the disgust of the people under him, who despising his meanness of birth, had petitioned Albuquerque to remove him from so high a station, and to give them a ruler of royal blood. George Albuquerque accordingly resolved to send for the king of Campar; and for this purpose

purpose dispatched Botello, an intimate friend of that prince, in a galley, to bring him to his new office.

Botello, in his way thither, having received intelligence, that the chief city in the dominions of Campar was then besieged by the king of Bantam, he therefore sent to Albuquerque, desiring he would furnish him with a proper force, in order to extricate this friend and ally of the Portuguese from his present difficulties. Albuquerque immediately dispatched Francisco Melo, with four ships, with one hundred Portuguese, and seven hundred Malaccans aboard. Botello relying upon this reinforcement, resolved to make his way up that river, which runs through the kingdom of Campara. But when he came near the suburbs he perceived a strong station on the side of the river, guarded by a garrison of soldiers, which the king of Linga commanded. The dominions of this prince join to those of Campar, and he had entered into the war with the king of Bantam, in order to overthrow the prince of Campar. The farther our people went up the river, they found it narrower, and the channel deeper, the banks likewise rose higher and higher; so that there was great danger the enemy, by throwing stones and other missive weapons from each side, might destroy the Portuguese, with the utmost facility. Botello therefore resolved to alter his scheme, thinking it most expedient to sail down the river again, and block up the entrance, so as to hinder the enemy from receiving any supply of provisions, or at least to draw them out to a more convenient place for an engagement. The king of Linga bore down upon our people with eighty ships, and six thousand men aboard. Botello, however, plied the ship, in which the king and several of his nobles sailed, so furiously with his darts, that he made great slaughter, and put the enemy into the utmost consternation. This ship being terribly batter'd, run aground, and stuck in the mud so fast, that she could not be got off by the utmost efforts. She lay likewise across the river, in such a manner,

that she hindered the rest of the enemy's ships from passing. Botello immediately grappled and boarded her, and the enemy, notwithstanding they made a gallant defence, were all of them killed or driven over board. The enemy's ships could not move forwards, being obstructed by the king's ship, nor could they retreat for want of a sufficient depth, for the tide was now ebbing; so that they remained in one position, being utterly incapable of moving either way. Francisco Melo, during the greatest part of this rencounter, remained at the mouth of the river: the king of Linga had made so sudden an attack, that Melo was not apprized of the affair; there were likewise so many turnings and windings in the river, and the banks were so high, that he could not perceive what was going forward. But at last, when he heard the noise of the cannon, and the rattling of arms, he sailed up the river, and boarded the king's ship. Our people that day killed great numbers of the enemy, and plundered all their ships. The king of Linga saved himself by jumping over-board. After the action was over, the king of Campar expressed himself in the most grateful manner to the Portuguese commanders for their service. He likewise shewed the highest satisfaction for the honour Albuquerque had done him, in creating him bendar of Malacca. Melo took along with him several of the enemy's ships, and burnt the rest. He ordered the king of Linga's to be hauled ashore, and after it was repaired, gave it to the king of Campar, to carry him to Malacca.

Ninachetu having heard that he was to be deprived of his preferment, and that the king of Campar was sent for to succeed him, became deeply affected with this disgrace, nor would the pride of his soul allow him to brook such an indignity. He ordered a high scaffold to be erected, which was covered with the richest silks, and the finest tapestry, and strowed with variety of flowers and sweet herbs. There was like-
wife

wife a lighted pile below of aromattick wood. This not a little raised the curiosity and attention of the multitude, who could not devise what was the meaning of all this preparation. At last Ninachetu, clad in embroidered clothes, sparkling with the most precious diamonds, came forth from his house, and ascended the scaffold, from whence he made a most moving speech. In this he enumerated the many services he had done the Portuguese, both before and after the taking of Malacca. With what constancy he had persevered in his duty to Emmanuel, and with what resolution he had maintained his fidelity, even at the danger of his own life, on many occasions. ‘ And now, said he, as a reward for all my
‘ past services, I am to be discarded in my old age,
‘ and to be used with such indignity, as no man of
‘ spirit can put up with. I am to be stripped of all
‘ my honours, by those Portuguese who themselves
‘ conferred them upon me, and whom I am consci-
‘ ous to have served with the utmost honour and
‘ integrity. Yet these men now give me up as a
‘ worthless wretch, to linger out the remainder of my
‘ days in ignominy and universal contempt. But,
‘ added he, it was always my opinion that death was
‘ preferable to a shameful life, and at present I am
‘ determined to give a convincing proof of the sincerity
‘ of my sentiments on this point.’ Having spoke these words he threw himself headlong into the pile, and was immediately consumed. The tragical death of this man, not a little affected the spectators. Their pity and horror were at once excited, especially when they recollected his inviolable attachment and fidelity to the Portuguese on all occasions.

Whilst these things happened at Malacca, Albuquerque sent an embailador to the king of Cambaya. This kingdom is the most western part of Proper India, and is bounded by the confines of Arachofia. The Indus, which is swelled by many rivers running from the east and west, takes its course through this coun-
try.

try. There is a large bay into which the Indus takes its influx, which by ancient writers used to be called Caticolpus. The soil of this country is said to be so fertile, that a few acres will maintain an incredible number of men. It produces corn and fruits of all sorts, and also a considerable quantity of sugar canes. It affords the finest pasture for all kind of cattle, in which the country very much abounds. The sea coast is mostly inhabited by Arabians, and the inland parts by Pagans. There is a wild and uncivilized people called Presbuti, who live on the mountains: these, when they became Mahometans, revolted from the king of Cambaya, and are often at war with him. The Cambayan merchants are extremely rich, and by their traffic add greatly to the revenues of their prince, who keeps numbers of mercenary troops in his service, to whom he gives great encouragement. Diu is a remarkable city in this kingdom, situated in a small island, which is separated from the main land, by a very narrow channel: the convenience of its haven drew many merchants thither; so that it was then a celebrated mart, famous for its trade and riches. Albuquerque was extremely desirous of building a fort in this island. In order to procure his liberty he had done all the friendly offices in his power to the king, who, as we have mentioned above, had accordingly consented. But Melichiaz the governour of Diu, thought the liberty and safety of the people would be greatly endangered by such a concession, and by his interest hindered the fort from being built.

There was at that time one Melichigup, a man of the first distinction in Cambaya, and who had great influence with the king. Albuquerque by his liberality gained over this person to the Portuguese interest, and prevailed upon him to do his utmost with the king, that the fort might be allowed to be built. Melichigup gave Albuquerque great hopes, and advised him to send an embassy to his majesty. He accordingly dispatched Fernando de Beja, with a grand
retinue,

retinue, as embassador to that prince. Fernando, in his way went to Suratte, a city situated on the gulph of Cambaya, and under the power of Melichigup. There he was received by the chief magistrate, and all the principal inhabitants, in the most honourable manner. But when he understood that the king had at that time a misunderstanding with Melichigup, on whom he chiefly depended for the success of his embassy, he had then some thoughts of returning: but this the chief people there dissuaded him from, for many of them, out of a pique at Melichiaz, were desirous that the Portuguese should succeed. They accordingly encouraged the embassador to proceed, and made him a present of thirty three horses, together with some chariots to carry his baggage. They likewise sent with him a guard of soldiers for his protection. Fernando having set out from Suratte, four days afterwards arrived at Champanel, a large and strong city in the same kingdom: Here he met with Melichigup, who treated him with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and advised him to beware of the arts and stratagems of the mischievous Melichiaz. Here he spent three days in the highest mirth and festivity with Melichigup, who, at Fernando's departure, furnished him with a stronger guard, and a stock of provisions. He, at the same time, entreated him to lodge at no house, but by the approbation and direction of a guide, whom he gave him for the security of his person; for without such precaution, he said, he must certainly run the greatest danger.

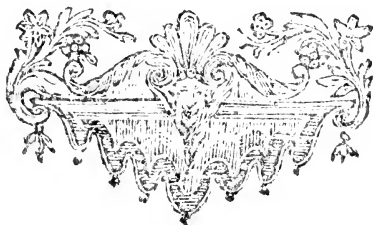
Fernando proceeded very gently on his journey, till he came to Mandava, where the king then resided. He was introduced to the royal palace, where the king reclining upon a couch, received him very politely: The embassador and the rest of the Portuguese paid their respects to his majesty, after the manner of their country. They had all many valuable presents given them, and were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality. But as to the fort, the king had
been

been so far wrought upon by Melichiaz, that he could by no means be prevailed on to fulfil his promise. He said, however, he would allow them to build a fort in Surat, Bombay, Naim, or Doubez, which were all cities on the sea coast; but that, for very good reasons, he could not permit them to erect one in Diu. Fernando accordingly departed, without being able to accomplish the design of his embassy; but in other respects, he had no reason to complain, for during his stay there, he and all his attendants had indeed been treated with the utmost civility. At his departure he received several presents for Albuquerque, together with a large supply of provisions, and then he set out on his return for Goa.

In the mean while Albuquerque was busied in fitting out a fleet, which, according to report, was destined for Arabia, but in reality it was chiefly against Ormus. In order that this design might be executed with greater secrecy, and the king of Ormus have the less suspicion, Albuquerque had sent his nephew Pedro, with four ships, to Cape Gardafu, to harass the Arabians on that coast. There he spent the greatest part of the summer, during which time he took ten of the Arabian ships loaded with very valuable cargoes. Pursuant to his instructions, Pedro Albuquerque then steered for Ormus, where he demanded the tribute which was due, from Terunxa the king then on the throne. (his brother Zeifadim being dead). He also strongly solicited for the liberty of building a fort there; and that he would renew and ratify the league which had been concluded with his brother. The king paid only ten thousand ducats of the tribute, saying he was then so pinched in his circumstance, that he could not give the whole, but as soon as it was in his power, he would pay the remainder, with the strictest honour. He refused, however, to permit the Portuguese to build a fort. But he said he was ready, whenever they pleased, to ratify and confirm the league with them.

Things being thus settled at Ormus, Pedro Albuquerque, according to his uncle's orders, resolved to sail for the island of Baharen, situated in the Persian gulph, about four hundred miles from that part where the rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, in one united stream, fall into this gulph at one mouth, which is near a league and a half wide at the entrance. The king endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, telling him that the navigation was extremely dangerous, by reason of the many hidden rocks and shelves; and the air of the climate being so thick and foggy, this would likewise be greatly prejudicial to his own health, as well as that of his men. Nevertheless, he persisted in his resolution, and accordingly sailed up the gulph. When he had got pretty near the island of Baharen, he met with a boisterous storm, which drove his ships on the Persian coast, where he came to an anchor in the port of Raxel. Being there informed that Mirbuzaca, the Persian sopher's admiral, had taken twenty of the king of Ormus's ships, he immediately dispatched a messenger to him, to let him know, that the king of Ormus was tributary to Emmanuel, and under his protection: and that he therefore could not allow any injury to be done his royal master's ally. But before he proceeded to any hostility, he thought it expedient, in a friendly manner, to desire a restitution of the ships which had been taken. Mirbuzica, either struck with terror, or moved with the equity of the request, immediately yielded up the ships. Pedro Albuquerque, returned with the ships to Ormus, and restored them to the king, who being blinded by this shew of complaisance, did not in the least dream, that the Portuguese were forming any design against him. Pedro having set out from Ormus, went back to Goa, at which time his uncle was still busy in fitting out a fleet. But before he sailed from Goa, he sent John Gundisalvo de Albicastro, as an ambassador to Zabaim Idalcam, desiring him, if he was willing to purchase horses at Goa, that he would assign

assign the Portuguese some places on the continent, which they might fortify. He likewise sent Antonio Soufa to the king of Narsinga, to desire he would grant him the city of Batical, on the western coast of India. These two embassadors were received by the princes, in a very polite manner, and had many valuable presents given them, but they returned to Goa, without being able to accomplish the purport of their embassy.



B O O K X.

THIS year five ships arrived at Goa from Portugal, in one of which was the embassador whom the king of Ormus had sent to Emmanuel. Albuquerque was then at Cochin, getting ready a fleet for Lisbon. He returned to Goa towards the end of February 1515. Having settled every thing necessary to establish peace and tranquillity in India, he sailed from Goa with a fleet of twenty seven ships, besides several small vessels, aboard which there were a considerable number of Indian soldiers. He put in at the port of Mascata, where he received such information about the affairs of Ormus, as made him suspect the fidelity of the king and his commanders. Having watered his fleet, and taken in a supply of provisions, he steered for Ormus. The king being alarmed by his sudden arrival, was excessively complainant, and used all his endeavours to procure the favour of Albuquerque. He sent Acem, one of his domesticks, to congratulate him on his arrival, and to assure him, that all the wealth and power of his kingdom was at his service; and desiring him to use the same freedom at Ormus as he would do in Portugal. The viceroy returned for answer, that he would use the king as his own son, if he found his actions to agree with his friendly professions; but if it proved otherwise, he might expect the utmost severity.

Albuquerque having dismissed the messenger, dispatched some of his smallest vessels to sail round the island, to observe if there were any ships of war cruizing near the island; if they found any soldiers who refused

refused to surrender, that they should destroy them, but if they submitted, to bring them off as captives. Two days were spent in this manner, whilst in the mean time, several messengers went backwards and forwards, betwixt Albuquerque and the king, who endeavoured to sooth him by the fairest expressions. The Viceroy, however, threatened him with destruction, if he proved unfaithful. Albuquerque had aboard one of his ships the ambassador whom the king of Ormus had sent to Portugal; him he at last dismissed, after having exacted from him an oath of fidelity. This man was a Sicilian by birth, but in his younger years being taken by pirates, he had been bred up in the Mahometan religion. When in Portugal, he was so struck with the beauty of our holy religion, that he renounced Mahometanism, and turned Christian, and was afterwards called by the name of Nicholas Ferreira. Albuquerque, before he dismissed him, had taken proper precautions, to prevent the king of Ormus from doing him any prejudice, on account of his having abjured that execrable religion. The particulars which the king, by his ambassador, asked of Emmanuel, were these, first, That his Portuguese majesty would remit the tribute imposed on him, since his treasury was quite exhausted. For the Portuguese ships, had struck such a terror into all the foreign merchants, that none of them, as usual, traded to his dominions: so that by this means his revenues, which arose intirely from the duties on merchandize, were now quite destroyed. Secondly, he requested, that his subjects may be allow'd a free trade to India; and that all ships from thence might sail unmolested to Ormus: and in order to render this the more practicable, that none of the Portuguese ships might be allow'd to come to Ormus; for if they did, commerce could not flourish, nor could he recover his revenues. Thirdly, As a subject of king Emmanuel, in whose protection he confided, he required, as a piece of justice and equity, that his ma-

jeſty would order reſtitution to be made of all the ſhips and merchandize taken from him. And laſtly, That all the people of Ormus, who had been taken priſoners, ſhould be reſtored to their liberty. The anſwer which the embaſſador received was, that Emmanuel, provided the king of Ormus remained faithful, and allowed the Portugueſe to build a fort in the city, would remit half the tribute; that he would likewise allow a free trade to and from Ormus, provided the ſhips trading there carried no contraband goods, and the merchants came not from thoſe parts which were at war with the Portugueſe. The requeſt that none of the Portugueſe might ſail to Ormus was rejected, for this ſeemed as if the king of Ormus, wanted to ſhake off the authority of Emmanuel. The reſtitution of the ſhips and goods was likewise reſuſed; for they had been taken by right of war from thoſe who had violated their faith. The captives however, were ordered to be ſet at liberty.

Albuquerque had the grandſon of Raix Noradin, a youth of great diſtinction, delivered to him as a hoſtage, before he diſmiſſed Ferreira. Had not the viceroy taken this method for his ſecurity, he had certainly been treated by the king with great ſeverity, for having renounced the Mahometan religion. The king received the letters of Emmanuel with an appearance of great reſpect, and, though unwilling, he held a converſation with Ferreira. The following day Albuquerque ſent a meſſenger to the king, declaring, that he would proceed to hoſtilities, if he did not immediately aſſign him a place where a fort might be erected, and alſo allot ſome part of the city where the Portugueſe might reſide; for he ſaid, he was deſirous of paſſing eight or nine month in Ormus. The king filled with the utmoſt conſternation, granted every thing, telling Albuquerque he relied on his honour; and hoped he would do nothing prejudicial to his kingdom. He ſent Noradin to conclude the league in a ſolemn manner, which was accordingly ratified.

The

The king was presented with a golden chain, together with a standard on which was Emmanuel's arms. This he fixed on the top of his palace, as a token of peace, and a voluntary acknowledgment of Emmanuel's sovereignty. The Portuguese accordingly set about building the fort on that spot where it had been formerly begun.

At this time, Ismael the king of Persia, made a considerable figure for his power in arms, and was also held in the highest veneration for his zeal in religion. He was descended from Alles and Mahomet. Alles, as it is related by several historians, was by birth cousin to Mahomet, and by marriage his son-in-law, for he married his daughter Fatima. After the death of Mahomet, he succeeded him in his sovereignty, and made great alterations in his law. He abolished many articles, and added not a few of his own, and what remained he corrected by new interpretations in such a manner, that the whole seemed to the people, as another system of religion. This occasioned a schism in their church, some following the doctrine of Mahomet, and others that of Alles. These two sects conceived the most inveterate hatred at each other. The Persians, who followed the tenets of Alles, looked upon the other sects who scrupulously adhered to the law of Mahomet, to be men of impure principles, and ignorant of the divine law; and therefore rejected them from their religious fellowship. The Arabians, on the other hand, detested the Persians, exclaiming against them as apostates, and corruptors of the divine law. Upon the decease of Alles, his son Hocem succeeded to his sovereignty, as well as his vile religion; but he soon had the same fate as his father, both being taken off by poison. Hocem was succeeded by a brother of the same name, who likewise retained the tenets of Alles, with great zeal, till the day of his death. This man had twelve sons, who were so eminent for their religious zeal, and sanctity of manners, that the Persians looked upon

them as the favourites of the deity, and somewhat above the rank of human creatures. One of them, the most conspicuous for his piety, was called Muza Caim.

After the death of these men, the name of Alles sunk into obscurity. The succeeding princes adhered to the law of Mahomet with great strictness, till at last one descended from Muza Caim came to be sphi. This prince began to revive the tenets of Alles. The fame he had acquired for his wisdom and religion induced many to follow his persuasion. He had likewise not a little promoted it by the power of his arms; so that now the name of Alles was raised from oblivion, and many nations embraced his tenets. This prince, instead of linnen turbants, which the Mahometans used to wear on their heads, contrived caps of wool dyed green, and plaited in such a manner, that they could be contracted or extended at pleasure: these he ordered to be worn by all those who adhered to the doctrine of Alles, as a mark to distinguish them from the other Mahometans. He likewise caused these caps to be marked with the number twelve, in remembrance of Hochem's sons.

Ismael was descended from this sphi, being the son of Aidam, his grandson. He had undergone various hardships; but the fame of his wisdom and religious zeal, as we have already mentioned, was so great, that all the Persians had come under his sovereignty with the utmost cheerfulness. He was certainly a man of a great and generous soul, and by many signal victories, had very much extended his dominions. He had had several engagements with Selym emperor of the Turks, and was now arrived at such a pitch of grandeur, that he was not inferior in strength to that monarch. His desire, however, though great, of enlarging his power, was not greater than his zeal for propagating his religion; for partly by entreaties and partly by threats, he brought many to follow the doctrines and tenets which Alles had left

left in writings. Prompted by his enthusiasm, he wrote letters to the king of Cambaya, as well as to Zabaim Idalcam, earnestly intreating them to follow the religion of Alles: but in this he did not succeed.

This same prince having heard much of the fame and glory of Albuquerque, who had performed so many noble exploits in India and at Ormus, that his name was become famous throughout all Persia and Arabia; and though Albuquerque had taken Ormus, from under the Persian monarchy, yet Ismael had the highest admiration for him: for this is a particular excellency in the Persians, as it has been observed in ancient writings, that they admire virtue wherever they find it, infomuch that they often bestow the highest encomiums on their enemies, whom they have engaged in battle. Ismael having, as we have said already, sent an embassador to those Indian princes, strictly charged him to wait on Albuquerque in his name, and to assure him of his friendship and service. The name of the embassador was Cojealeam, who, according to his instructions, having saluted the viceroy, in a very respectful manner, advised him to send an embassador to Ismael, who he said, was a great admirer of the Portuguese, and extremely desirous of entering into a treaty of friendship with them. Albuquerque was not a little pleased with this embassy, for he thought such a league would tend greatly to secure the Portuguese interest at Ormus. He accordingly sent Michael Ferreira to Ismael, who received him with the highest marks of honour, giving him the preference above all other embassadors at his court. He conversed with him in the most familiar and jocosè manner; he enquired very curiously into the manners and customs of the Portuguese, the disposition and genius of the people, and the character and behaviour of Emmanuel: and when Ferreira answered, he seemed to hear him with an extraordinary satisfaction; for indeed Michael was a

man of fine sense, and excellent elocution. At his desire, Ismael sent Bairimbonat, one of his chief nobles, as an ambassador to Albuquerque, who happened to come with Ferreira to Ormus, at the time when the Portuguese were busy in finishing the fort.

Albuquerque thought that this embassy would add a considerable lustre and dignity to the Portuguese name and authority in Ormus; he therefore resolved to receive the ambassador in the most pompous manner. He ordered a scaffold to be erected in the market place, near the king's palace, that his majesty and all his courtiers might behold the ceremony. This, according to his directions, was covered with the richest tapestry, and seats were ranged in order, where he placed himself attended with a number of the Portuguese nobility; and, in this public manner, he received the ambassador. Bairimbonat had very much admired Albuquerque by his fame and reputation; but his admiration, became much greater, when he now beheld the majestic gravity of his looks, his grey hairs, and his keen sparkling eyes, which served to point out the sagacity and penetration of his mind. The ambassador related the subject of his embassy in a clear and distinct manner, and then produced the letters and presents, from his royal master to Emmanuel and Albuquerque, who ordered them to be held forth, so as all the spectators might behold them. He then returned an answer, in which he took care to preserve a proper dignity, and at the same time, expressed the utmost gratitude to Ismael. The embassy contained nothing more than the highest encomiums on the Portuguese merit, and professions of the utmost friendship and regard for them. Albuquerque, in a few days after, dismissed Bairimbonat with many valuable presents: he at the same time, sent another ambassador to Ismael, with letters, and some private instructions relating to the Portuguese affairs. The person pitched on for this purpose was Fernando Gomezio Lemos; but we shall

shall take notice of this embassy more fully in another place.

After the departure of the embassadors, Albuquerque applied himself wholly to finishing the fort, and settling other matters which might contribute to establish the Portuguese interest at Ormus. And although he perceived that many hostile schemes were hatching against the Portuguese, which he likewise took care to prevent, yet he always conducted matters in such a manner, that none of his secret enemies ever imagined that he knew or so much as suspected their designs. But many of these plotters conscious of their wickedness, were distrustful, and generally upon their guard. This they thought highly necessary, especially as Zeifadim late king of Ormus, and Cojetar the chief minister of the state, bitter enemies to the Portuguese, were now dead. Raix Nordin, who succeeded Coje Atar, having poisoned Zeifadim, and banished his children, had advanced Torunxa to the throne; his design being, that this man should enjoy the name, whilst he himself had the whole power and sovereignty in his own hands. But Nordin being at length worn out with years, and unable to undergo the fatigue of the administration, devolved it on his grandson Raixhamed, a keen and violent man, about thirty five years of age: but though he conferred the toil and labour on him, yet he reserved for himself all the wealth and profit of this high employment. Raixhamed kept Terunxa always beset with such strong guards, that he not only held the kingdom, but the king himself in a state of thralldom. The palace was always filled with such a number of spies, that his majesty durst hardly open his mouth, lest, what he said, might be offensive to Raixhamed, who, if he thought proper, would pull out his eyes, or deprive him of life itself. Yet the king once had the courage, after the league was formed, to complain to Albuquerque of the tyranny of this villain. This the viceroy kept secret. The king, at another time, by
means

means of Alexander Ataide, as an interpreter, declared to Albuquerque, that he was kept as a fetter'd slave, and observed by so many spies, that he dared not to serve the Portuguese, as he was desirous to do. Hamed, in the mean while, though he gave the Portuguese fine words, yet was secretly forming plots for their destruction, Besides, in order to draw off the king from his fidelity to Emmanuel, he had obliged him to accept of the cap and the books of Alles, sent by Ismael, that by this means he might give a public proof of his being attacked to the Persian monarch.

Albuquerque having enquired into these things, and found them to be true, resolved to take off Hamed. But this he did not choose to do by open force, lest he might thereby be involved in war and civil broils; he therefore had recourse to stratagem. He always professed the greatest friendship to Hamed, and, in order to free him from all apprehension, did him all the friendly offices in his power. He sent Alexander Ataide the interpreter, and Pedro Alpoe, both very intimate with the king, to tell his majesty he wanted to have a meeting with him, in order to lay before him and Hamed some secret affairs, relating to the state of Ormus, and the interest of his Portuguese majesty; and desired that he himself would fix upon the place of conference. There was a house inhabited by Simon Andrade, adjoining to the fort, which was accordingly pitched on for this purpose. It was agreed on both sides, that Albuquerque should come attended only with his officers, and these without arms, and the king likewise with a certain number of his nobility unarmed. The king and the viceroy however, were each of them to be attended by one gentleman, who was to be allowed to wear a sword. The rest of the Portuguese and Persians were not to be admitted to this secret conference, but to be drawn up in arms near the shore. Albuquerque, on the night preceding the day appointed, held a private council with his officers, to whom he discovered his design, and

and ordered them to carry arms concealed under their cloaths. The next morning before day break, he went ashore, where he drew up his forces, and left some of his officers with them: with the rest he proceeded for Simon's house. Raixhamed, in like manner drew up his men on the shore, and conducted the king towards Andrade's house. But Hamed was likewise secretly armed, being resolved to assassinate Albuquerque who, he thought, had come unprepared. He accordingly went up to the viceroy very boldly; but, after the usual forms of ceremony were over, he happened to cast his eyes on those who attended Albuquerque, and although he did not perceive their arms, yet the suspicion ran strong in his head: and, as if it were, foreseeing the fatality of that day, he was for going back, and at the same time he endeavoured to persuade the king not to enter the house, telling him that Albuquerque was certainly surrounded with a body of armed men. Nevertheless the king proceeded, and obliged Hamed, as usual, to walk before him. As soon as they entered, Garcia Norhona ordered the doors to be shut; so that the greatest part of those who had come in arms to assist Hamed were hindered from entering. Being thus excluded they were moved with the highest indignation, and endeavoured to force open the gate. They complained that the Portuguese had acted contrary to the agreement, whereby it had been settled, that the viceroy and the king should come with an equal number of attendants; that the former had his full compliment, whilst the latter was only accompanied by four persons, and the rest most unjustly excluded.

In the mean while Albuquerque within accused Hamed of carrying arms, which he commanded him to produce. Hamed, depending on the assistance of his attendants (for he did not know they were excluded) immediately drew his sword: but Albuquerque catching fast hold of his arm, hindered him from doing any mischief, and Pedro Albuquerque, together with Lopez Vasco de Sancto Pelagio, coming

coming up, dispatched him by several wounds. When the king beheld this scene, he was thrown into the utmost panic: but Albuquerque embracing him in the most affectionate manner, bid him lay aside his fears. ‘Hitherto (said he) you have only had
‘ the name of a prince, whilst in reality you was a slave
‘ under the oppression of a most wicked tyrant.
‘ Henceforward be free, be a king, and use your
‘ royal prerogative.’

In the mean while, those who were excluded continued to make an incessant noise: and when they heard that Hamed was killed, and his body thrown out at the back part of the house, they then concluded their king must suffer the same fate, and with greater fury they endeavoured to break down the gate. But some of the Portuguese officers coming up with part of the forces (the rest being left to oppose the king’s soldiers, in case of any hostile attempt) their arrival quell’d the fury of those who were beating down the gate. Nevertheless, several of the nobility and citizens, insisted on their king being delivered up in safety, otherwise they threatened to fire the house. The king at the desire of Albuquerque, went up to a balcony, on the upper part of the house, from whence he shewed himself to all his people, and bid them be of good courage: telling them, that the Portuguese had done him no injury; on the contrary, they had served him in a very singular manner; that he was now restored to liberty, and to the exercise of his kingly power, which he said he would use over his people with the greatest justice and humanity. He then declared that he would capitally punish those who should offer any hostility to the Portuguese. Nevertheless, Modafario and Allis, brothers of the late tyrant, inveighed against the Portuguese, and the king himself, in the most outrageous manner. These two persons, with a body of armed men, took possession of the royal palace, where they resolved to defend themselves. But being deterred by the king’s
menaces,

menaces, and the fear of Albuquerque, they quitted the palace, after having received a promise of pardon for what they had already done. These men in a limited time were obliged to leave the island; which they accordingly did with all their vassals and dependents, and the greatest part of Hamed's faction. Thus the city was delivered of a most dangerous crew, which threatened destruction to the whole state; for Hamed had clandestinely brought several foreign troops into Ormus, being determined to drive the Portuguese from the city, and to give it up to the Persian sopia.

Whilst these things were transacted in India, the Portuguese performed several great exploits in Africa. Jehabentaf having advised Ataid, that there was a considerable body of the enemy encamped near Mo:occo, who might be easily surprized, Ataide sent Lopez Barriga to him with one hundred cavalry, who accordingly joined Jehabentaf: but the enemy had decamped to a large town, near the mountain of Atlas; Barriga therefore by a letter informed Ataide, that there was occasion for a larger reinforcement, which he accordingly sent by Alphonso Norhona his son-in-law. Jehabentaf had now under his command one thousand cavalry. The enemy, however, consisted of four hundred troops of horse, besides a considerable number of infantry: they had again moved their camp, but our people followed their track. Barriga, who led the van, which consisted of one hundred and fifty horse, having come up with their rear fell furiously upon them. These though they made at first a stout resistance, yet they were at last forced to fly to the main body of their army. There the enemy superior in numbers charged Barriga so furiously, that he was obliged to retire: but Norhona and Jehabentaf coming up, the engagement was renewed with fresh vigour, and the victory for some time seemed to incline to neither side. The enemy, however were at last routed; great numbers of their men were slain, and above five hundred taken prisoners. Our people

carried off twenty thousand sheep, one thousand oxen, and four hundred camels. The enemy having soon after received a reinforcement, rallied their scattered troops, and again attacked our people; but the event proved the same as in the former conflict. Three of the Portuguese, and a few of the confederate Moors fell in this action; the rest of the army marched off with their booty to the city, without any further molestation.

John Coutign, son of Vasco Coutign, Conde di Borbe, at this time held the government of Arzila, as his father's deputy. He was a brave youth, and extremely active in warlike affairs. He set out with one hundred and forty horse on an excursion to mount Farrob. When he came near this mountain, he received intelligence, by his spies, that the governors of Laroze and Moleihamar, and a son of Barraxa, with eight hundred horse, were in a plain at a little distance, and that they were marching to Arzila and Tangier, in order to lay waste the neighbouring lands. Coutign resolved to attack them; and lest they should decline the engagement, went with his men and took possession of a pass, where he must unavoidably meet them. The battle was bloody and severe, and remained a long time doubtful. This party of the enemy consisted of very brave men, in whom love of glory was implanted in a very high degree. Our people shewed no less intrepidity, for they knew their whole safety depended on their courage. The enemy were at last worsted: above two hundred were killed on the spot, and forty-one made prisoners; amongst these many noblemen and persons of high renown. The spoil consisted of horses, and several ornaments of the nobility.

About the same time the Moors of Xiatim (tributary to the Portuguese) sent to beg assistance of Ataide, to drive Xerif out of their territories, who had already done them considerable damage. He accordingly dispatched Barriga to their aid with fifty horse. Barriga having

having joined the people of Xiatim, marched to the top of mount Farrob. Being here informed that Xerif had attacked and plundered several of the tents belonging to the Moors of Xiatim, and killed several of their men, he made all haste after him, and came up with his rear. He killed some of them, and took one prisoner; the rest betook themselves to flight; but his numbers being so few, he did not think it prudent to pursue them. He sent to Ataide to desire a stronger reinforcement, who immediately dispatched George Mendez, with fifty more horse. Xerif, at the head of one thousand six hundred cavalry, was making all haste to attack our people. Barriga drew up his forces in two lines, one he gave to George Mendez Ataide, and Pedro Barriga, the other he himself commanded. The confederate Moors drew up their men after the same manner. Xerif had disposed his troops in the following order: the center of his army consisted of seven hundred horse, and was under the command of Albedelquibir, his own cousin; he himself commanded the left wing; and the right he entrusted to another general in whom he had very high confidence. The center unable to contain themselves, rushed at once with great fury upon the Portuguese, and surrounded them with their numbers; so that they were obliged to form themselves into a square for their defence. But Lopez Barriga coming up, briskly charged the enemy who had encompassed our people, whilst at the same time the confederate Moors maintained a severe battle with the enemy's two wings. The conflict lasted a considerable time, and was fought with the utmost obstinacy on both sides. In the meanwhile Pedro Barriga spurred on his horse, and with his spear he engaged and killed Albedelquibir, who headed the enemy's center. Those who fought under him, as soon as they saw their general fall, began to give way, and our people animated by this success, at last entirely routed them. Lopez Barriga then advanced against the wing commanded by Xerif; here

Xerque

Xerque Bentagogim, a man of great distinction, having attacked Pelago Roderigo, had dismounted him, and was about to kill him, as he lay prostrate on the ground, when Barriga luckily came to his deliverance, and with a spear run his antagonist through. A son of Bentagogim coming up to the assistance of his father, suffered the same fate from Barriga. Thus in one place he killed two of the enemy's chief officers, and saved one of his own people.

Xerif, and his whole army, were at last completely routed, and driven to flight. Our people followed them a considerable way, but in the pursuit they killed only about one hundred, most of the enemy saving themselves by the swiftness of their horses.

Ataide, encouraged by this success of Barriga, was determined to perform some remarkable exploit: and remembering the bravery of Diego Lopez, who with a handful of men had advanced to the very gates of Morocco, he resolved to make an attempt on that city. He therefore sent to give notice to the confederate Moors, that they should be in arms on a certain day; for he said he was going to embark in an enterprise, which he hoped, would procure them a considerable share of glory, as well as booty. But his particular design he discovered to none. Lopez Barriga, in the name of Ataide, went to stir up the Moors that they might be in readiness; but having heard that Xerif was then in the castle of Amagor, he sent to Ataide desiring a body of men to surprize him. Ataide accordingly dispatched his grandson Alvaro Mendez Cervaria, with two hundred horse and fifty foot soldiers armed with musquets and other fire arms: Cervaria after a week's journey joined Barriga, who by this time had got together the Moors. The castle of Amagor is situated on a high and craggy mountain, at the bottom of which runs a river on each side. The place included within the castle is so extensive, that it contains above one hundred villages. Our people approached this place about sun-set, and accordingly pitched

pitched their tents. Some of the enemy having sallied out from the castle attacked the confederate Moors, and drove them from their station : but the Portuguese quickly coming up, soon obliged them to retreat. The next day our people resolved to blockade the castle : but Barriga being informed that Xerif was fled from thence, mounted his horse, and ordered his men to do the same. They then endeavoured to force the first entrenchment which surrounded the castle, but those of the enemy left for its defence made so stout a resistance, that our people were shamefully repulsed at two different efforts. But at the third attempt the Portuguese made so vigorous an assault, that they forced the rampart, and made great slaughter amongst the enemy, who threw themselves headlong down the rocks ; many of them were dashed to pieces, and many being caught in the bushes, were torn and mangled in a most miserable manner. And so great was their fury and madness, that when they saw they must die (for they would not surrender) they even drove their horses down the rocks, that they might not come into the hands of our people. About two hundred of the enemy fell by the sword, one thousand were killed on the rocks, and four hundred were made prisoners, and amongst these the uncle of Xerif. Our people got only about fifty horses, but the booty in other respects was so immense, that they spent three days in conveying it from the castle to their camp. This victory obtained by such a small number, was a most extraordinary instance of the divine favour; nor did the Portuguese forget to render praise and thanksgivings to the supreme Being for his extraordinary goodness.

Some days after, Barriga, by the assistance of Jehabentaf, took the castle of Algabal, in which was considerable booty. He likewise wrote a letter to Ataide, advising him to attack the castle of Algel whither Xerif had retreated. Ataide accordingly marched out with his forces for this purpose ; but when he came

within eight miles of the place, he marched back again to the city, though his motive for so doing is unknown. Xerif had abandoned the castle; but when he heard that Ataide was retreated, he returned. Barriga, by the orders of Ataide, went to attack a large cave situated amongst a multitude of hidden rocks and precipices, where a considerable number of the enemy had taken shelter: but he was repulsed with loss, several of his men being killed, and several driven down the precipices.

In the mean time, Barriga being invited by the confederate Moors, resolved to make an attempt on the castle of Algel. But on his march he was alarmed by a confused noise, and at last he saw several people flying towards him: These were the confederate Moors, who had been beat by the enemy. Barriga having rallied them, advanced towards the enemy, and soon drove them to flight. He pursued them above twelve miles. He was but a little way from the castle, when several of his men, neglecting his orders and authority, leaving their ranks, made an assault on the enemy, who flocking together from all quarters, quickly surrounded them. Barriga advanced to their succour, and there ensued a most desperate rencounter. Sixteen of the Portuguese, and a much greater number of their allies, were killed on the spot. Barriga had his horse killed under him, and he himself being wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy: however, by the assistance of his men, or rather by the divine assistance, he escaped on one of the horses of the victorious enemy: and having with great difficulty drawn off his men, he retreated to the camp.

Next day, though ill of his wounds, he resolved to march towards the castle. In his way thither he made considerable plunder; he encamped at some distance from the castle, where he was obliged to remain three days for the cure of his wounds. Whilst he lay here, a party of the enemy attempted to surprize the camp, but meeting with a warm reception,

tion, they were obliged to save themselves by a hasty flight. Barriga did not think it safe to pursue them any great distance, for fear of some ambuscade. The next day he decamped and pitched his tents so near the castle, that they were only parted by a little hill, and a small river. The following day there was a severe battle; but the Moors who accompanied Barriga having observed at a distance the prince of the mountains, who came to succour the castle, they were filled with the utmost panic, and fled in the greatest consternation; so that now the Portuguese were left alone. Barriga met the enemy in a narrow pass, and withstood their shock with great resolution. Most of the Moors who fled perished with cold, it being then winter, and the season very severe, and they had no tents to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. They were a people unable to endure cold: and besides had been greatly wasted by famine and fatigue: above five hundred of them died that night. Thus they, who in order to save themselves, had basely deserted the camp, where they might have been preserved, run headlong into a death at once miserable and shameful. Barriga marched off next day, with his men in good order; and though he was attacked by the enemy, in several places, yet he always repulsed them with extraordinary courage. He brought his men safe into the city, with the loss only of a few who had quitted their ranks.

In the mean time, Ataide being still fully bent on his expedition against Morocco, sent Barriga, to invite the Moorish leaders to a share in this enterprize. Pedro Sousa, the governor of Azamor, was likewise invited, who being a man of great gallantry, and immoderately fond of glory, was very ready to embark in the undertaking. The place of rendezvous being fixed upon, Sousa came there with two hundred, and Ataide with three hundred cavalry. The governors of Dabida and Garabia came likewise with a considerable body, the former having six hundred,

and the other one thousand horse. The commandant of Xerque brought also eight hundred cavalry. The army being united began their march on the 22d day of April 1515. They proceeded on their march with great regularity, nor did they pitch their camp in any place, before they had examined it very carefully. The country through which they marched, was in many places very fertile, well cultivated, and watered by fine rivers; so that it afforded a prospect most delightful to the sight. When they came before the city, a council of war was held, when they resolved to begin the attack on the Fezentian gate. But they had brought with them no cannon, nor any warlike engines proper to storm so large and populous a city: nor did they seem to have marched for any other purpose, but that they might afterwards boast that they had advanced to the gates of Morocco, without any molestation, thinking by this means, I suppose, to intimidate the enemy, and to shew the Portuguese with what facility they might make a conquest of the whole country. The enemy were indeed filled with consternation; for they imagined that a much more formidable army was approaching. Ataide commanded the center: the people of Xerque and Dabida formed the left wing, and those of Garabia composed the right. Soufa divided his men into two lines.

The Moors were the first who begun the attack. The enemy sallied forth at the gate of Fez; they excelling in numbers, and our people in military skill and courage: the former, however, being so numerous, and their men when tired, being relieved by others who were fresh, our people were pressed so hard, that they maintained the conflict with the greatest difficulty. Cidemaimam was desperately wounded. Lopez Barriga rushing on against the enemy too precipitately, was thrown off his horse, and would certainly have been killed, had it not been for the timely assistance of Pedro Barriga: several were killed on
both

both sides: the battle continued for four hours, and the victory remained doubtful. But Ataide and Soufa perceiving that the enemy poured in upon them such numbers of fresh troops, began to think it impossible with so few men, and these weakened with fatigue, any longer to withstand such a multitude, fighting with the utmost bravery for their own ground, for their liberty and property, and all that was dear to them: they therefore resolved to withdraw their men, and accordingly began to retreat in a regular manner, towards the river which ran through the city.

In this retreat they were several times set upon by the enemy, who were as often repulsed. At last the whole army got to the river, the ford of which was so narrow, that not above two or three could pass over at once. The enemy in the mean while, renewed their attack, and pressed on with great fury. And if our people, at this dangerous juncture, had not preserved their order, with the utmost carefulness, they had certainly suffered considerable havock. Soufa having crossed over with the van-guard, drew them up on the opposite bank, and protected those who were fording the river, whilst, at the same time, Ataide remaining with the rear on the other side, withstood the enemy, and covered his men in their retreat. In this manner the whole army were safely conveyed over the river: many of the Portuguese were wounded, but not one killed. About twelve of the confederate Moors were slain in this action: many of them, in order to give the Portuguese a proof of their courage, had run precipitately on the enemy's spears. When our people had got about two miles from the river, the enemy being moved with indignation, that such a small number of men should have dared to attack so opulent a city, the seat of their empire, resolved, by some signal exploit, to wipe of this affront: they accordingly passed the river, which they could not effect, whilst our people were drawn up on the bank, and pursued the Portuguese army. The Moors,

with some of our troops, after a short contest, routed and drove them to flight, and killed several of them; amongst these was an officer of Fez, who that day had greatly signalized himself by his gallant behaviour. Our men continued their march very gently, and quartered at several of the Moorish towns and villages, where they were entertained with great kindness and liberality, and congratulated on their safe return, as if they had gained a compleat victory. This expedition, though not conducted with prudence, yet was certainly carried on with vast intrepidity.

The mountain Farrob is about twenty miles from Arzila: it is high and lofty, and in many places strongly fortified by nature; the summit is covered with a beautiful verdure, and adorned with many trees and shady groves. On the declivity of that part of the mountain which looks towards Arzila, there is a large village called Aliubilia: from this place the enemy made frequent incursions on the lands adjoining to Arzila, where they made great depredations, and carried off considerable booty, with many captives. John Coutign was desirous to destroy this place; but not having a sufficient force, sent to Duarte Menz, governor of Tangier, for a supply of men: Menz immediately came and joined him with a reinforcement. By day-break they came to the bottom of the mountain. The enemy having observed them, were not in the least alarmed, but marched down the hill very undauntedly. Menz and Coutign having come forth from the places where they lay concealed, with their joint forces attacked the enemy, who giving way, retired up the hill. The enemy relying on their numbers, and the strength of their situation, had at first despised our people. But the Portuguese, continuing the pursuit, drove them within the entrenchments of their village, and having obliged them to fly out at the opposite gate, they plundered and destroyed the town. They then traversed the mountain, burning and destroying their mosques, and all their public

lic as well as private buildings. Having been thus successful, they returned to Arzila.

About this time, Emmanuel being resolved to harass the Moors as much as possible, was desirous to build as many forts as he could on the coast of Africa, that he might by this means keep the neighbouring enemies in awe, and with the greater facility make invasions on the kingdom of Fez. He accordingly consulted with those acquainted with the country, which was the most proper place where a fortress might be erected. They affirmed that the river Mamora, which empties itself into the Atlantic ocean about one hundred miles from Arzila, was very convenient for that purpose, being very broad and deep, and a mountain stood near the mouth of it, the summit of which was a noble situation for a fort, which might be easily supplied with provisions, and warlike stores; for the river being of a proper depth, it formed a considerable haven, where the largest ships might ride at anchor with great safety: besides, they said it was extremely convenient for war, being not a great many miles distant from Fez. The king accordingly sent people to examine and found this river; these persons at their return, confirmed what had been said concerning its depth and the convenient situation of the mountain. Emmanuel then fitted out two hundred sail of ships. There were aboard eight thousand soldiers, besides workmen and sailors. He gave the command of this fleet to Antonio Norogna, and in case this gentleman should meet with any unhappy fate, Nunez Mascaregna was appointed to be his successor. Many noblemen embarked in this fleet, but most of them were enervated with luxury and lasciviousness, puffed up with the arrogance of nobility, and unable to endure the fatigues of war. The bulk of the army too consisted of raw and unexperienced youths. The fleet set sail on the 13th of June.

On the 23d of the same month they came to the mouth of the river: but when they had sailed up to

the place where the fort was to be erected, upon a nearer inspection they did not think it so convenient for the purpose as had been imagined. After some deliberation, Norhogna pitched on a place nearer the mouth of the river, where the ships could come up, and provisions be conveyed with greater facility. There were likewise near this spot, several springs of fresh water, which was a great advantage; for they could not always be supplied by the river, by reason of the tide coming up with its salt-water. They accordingly resolved to build the fort in this place, which, according to the opinion of all the officers, was allowed to be the most commodious situation. They first threw up a ditch ten feet in depth, and fifteen in breadth; so that by this means, when the tide flowed, they could let in, or keep out the water as they thought proper. Their forces were likewise drawn up to defend the place, and their camp was disposed in such a manner, that they could easily withstand any attack of the enemy.

This place, however, had one great disadvantage; for it lay under the summit of a mountain, the passage to which was by so long a circuit, that it was too far distant from the river for our people to take possession of. It was likewise surrounded by several other rising grounds, from whence the enemy could easily annoy our people with stones, darts, and all manner of missile weapons. Add to this too, that the river in winter (as they were informed, and convinced of by the great quantity of slime and mud lying on the ground) used to be swelled in such a manner by the floods, as to overflow those parts where the fort was to be built. The enemy having been apprized of the arrival of the Portuguese, marched quickly and took possession of the eminences, where having fortified themselves and planted their batteries, they began to ply our people in a most furious manner. King Mequizeze had brought with him three thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The king of Fez was likewise on his march at the head of one hundred thousand men. Mean
while

while the Portuguese had several desperate rencounters with the enemy : but the latter having greatly the advantage in situation, as well as numbers, always came off victorious. In one engagement there were one thousand two hundred Portuguese left dead on the spot. The ships, however, having a free passage, brought frequent reinforcements to our people, and played their cannon on the enemy's camp with a good deal of success. The enemy, in order to prevent the entrance of the ships, fixed on a station at the mouth of the river, which they fortified with a ditch and rampart, and strengthened with a strong garrison of soldiers. From thence they played their batteries with great fury, sinking several vessels which entered the river, and intimidating the rest from the like dangerous attempt. Norhogna endeavoured to render this contrivance ineffectual, by the following expedient: He made choice of one of his largest and strongest ships, which he made still stronger by wooden beams nailed across : this being covered with sacks of wool, was placed as a bulwark opposite to the enemy's station ; so that now the lower decked ships could pass and repass, without receiving any damage. The enemy however, continued to batter this ship night and day, and at last tore her to pieces. Our people became then quite dispirited. Their army was considerably impaired ; their provisions began to fail, and not a day passed but some of their men were destroyed by the enemy, so that at this juncture, they were reduced to the utmost extremity.

In the mean while letters came from Emmanuel, in answer to those that Norhogna had wrote to his majesty concerning the present posture of affairs. The purport of which were, ‘ That if Norhogna and the
 ‘ rest of the officers were of opinion, that the fort could
 ‘ not be maintained without great danger, that they
 ‘ should immediately abandon it, and embark the
 ‘ troops for Portugal, before they received any further
 ‘ damage.’

‘damage.’ But the embarkation could not be effected with so much secrecy as was necessary, the enemy having become acquainted with our people’s design, renewed their attack with redoubled vigour. Two of the Portuguese lines were posted on a rising ground, to withstand the shock. One of these was commanded by Roderigo Melos, and the other by Christopher Leitan, a man of vast intrepidity, and who had had great experience in warlike affairs. The line commanded by Melos being pressed very hard, ran down the precipices in the utmost disorder, and great numbers were slaughtered by the enemy. Leitan, however, preserved the order of his men, and having marched down by the winding of the mountain, at last reached the river side. But the Portuguese camp was now in such distraction, and the men seized with such a panic, that the utmost entreaties and menaces of the officers could not restrain their flight. Many of them afraid of dying an honourable death, run headlong into the river, where they perished in a wretched and ignominious manner, being flung in the water and mud. There was the like trepidation amongst the sailors, by whose misconduct the ships ran foul of each other, one hundred were stranded on the banks, and the men left ashore at the mercy of a cruel enemy. There were several of the Portuguese, however this day performed great exploits. Amongst these, Bernardo Emmanuel particularly distinguished himself. He often rallied his men, and withstood the enemy with so much courage, that he killed not a few of them, and had it not been owing to his behaviour, the lots sustained that day, though great, would have been much greater. Our people with vast difficulty were at last embarked, and got clear out of the river, notwithstanding the enemy’s station. The enemy that day slew four thousand of the Portuguese, took several prisoners, and got possession of the fort, with all the cannon and ammunition. The news of this terrible disaster not a little affected Emmanuel: however, he

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bore it with a truly christian resignation. For he was a prince who never allowed himself to be intoxicated by prosperity, nor too much dejected by adverse fortune. Yet it is certain, that in his time, the Portuguese never received a greater loss, nor a more shameful defeat, which, in my opinion, many who were present at the affair, put up with more tamely than was consistent with honour and nobility: for they never after endeavoured to wipe off the ignominy, by any signal exploit.

It is the misfortune of princes to be often surrounded with a number of persons, who delight in envy and detraction, thus it happened that Emmanuel had some prejudices insilled into him against his viceroy in India. Albuquerque had at this time brought all the Indian coast, from the river Indus to cape Comorin, under the Portuguese power. He also added Malacca, and had conquered Ormus, where he settled every thing on a firm footing. In short by his prudence and bravery he had spread the name of Emmanuel far and near: nor could the Indian nations help thinking, that the king who had a general of such extraordinary abilities, must himself be somewhat of a divinity. Emmanuel of himself was very well disposed towards Albuquerque, yet by the malicious insinuations of a certain set of envious detractors, he at last began to harbour some suspicions against this great man. These persons incessantly buzzed in the king's ears, that Albuquerque was a rash hot headed man, and of the most intolerable ambition, nay, they even accused him of treacherous designs; for they said he aimed at sovereignty, and to make himself lord of all India: that by the number of his relations and dependants, and the fame he had acquired amongst the Indian princes, his wealth and power was already much greater than that of any subject ought to be; for, whilst a man's income is moderate, he can brook a higher authority, but when he arrives at an extraordinary pitch of wealth and power, he then cannot endure the thoughts

thoughts of a superior, and the laws of his country seem to him a restraint. Moreover, added they, if Albuquerque, who has no less policy than ambition, should bring Zabaim Idalcam into his measures; if he should also make an alliance with the king of Narsinga, and the rest of the Indian princes, could he not then carry his designs into execution with great facility? he would at least bring it about, that the name of Emmanuel shall be despised, while that of Albuquerque will be dreaded and esteemed throughout all India.

Such insinuations as these were propagated at the Portuguese court, with the utmost industry: Albuquerque, though he had heard that his character was often attacked, yet relying upon his innocence, took no pains to refute these calumnies. Besides his actions and behaviour in India had been such, that he thought these alone would be sufficient to shew his intrepidity, and to blunt the darts of envy. But as his accusers had no one to oppose them at court, they at last succeeded so far, that the king, though he retained a high opinion of Albuquerque's abilities, yet was prevailed on to recall him from India, and he sent Lopez Suario Alvarenga to be his successor. With him Emmanuel sent Matthew, ambassador from David the Æthiopian emperor, together with another ambassador to that prince. The person employed in this embassy was Duarte Galuan, a nobleman of high worth and approved fidelity. Alvarenga, with a fleet of thirteen ships, and one thousand five hundred men aboard, sailed from Lisbon on the 7th of April; he arrived at Goa on the 2d of September, and after having settled some affairs there, sailed for Cochin, in order to get ready the fleet for Portugal.

About this time, Emmanuel had a son born, to whom he gave the name of Duarte. As he advanced in years he discovered a most mild and humane disposition. He was a great lover of musick, and took vast pleasure in hunting. This prince, however, died
very

very young: had he lived longer, he would certainly have been a great ornament and advantage to the Portuguese nation; for he had given the most early marks of a great and benevolent soul.

This year was made further remarkable by the melancholy fate of Abedalla king of Campar, who as we mentioned above, had been made bendar of Malacca. The king of Bantam his father-in-law, had been a long time desirous to cut him off by the sword or poison; but as Abedalla was a man so universally beloved for his justice and humanity, he could find no one who would undertake to perpetrate this wickedness: he therefore had recourse to a most artful stratagem to accomplish his purpose. He ordered some of his people to go out on a cruize, and if possible, to take some of the Malacca ships, and bring them into the harbour of Bantam. They accordingly executed their commission with great expedition: but when the captives were brought before him, the king, with the utmost dissimulation, turning to those who had obeyed his orders, reproached them in the harshest terms for their behaviour. ‘Do not you know’ said he, ‘that I am the lawful king of Malacca, and that these men whom you have taken prisoners, are my subjects, whom I love as my own children? I hope’ continued he ‘that Abedalla, my beloved son, will, according to his promise, in a short time bring that kingdom under my power: then I shall shew the people there what a wide difference there is betwixt my mild government, and the Portuguese tyranny; for I will treat them with humanity, and in all respects, behave to them with the affection of a tender parent.’ After he had spoke these words, he entertained the prisoners in the kindest manner, and, in their presence, declared to his officers, if for the future they offered any hostility to the citizens of Malacca, that he would punish them in the severest manner. He then ordered the ships and goods to be restored,

and dismissed the men with many considerable presents.

These persons, at their return to Malacca, told the affair to their particular friends; and at last it became the general talk, that Abedalla was in the interest of the king of Bantam. Bartholomew Perestrello, collector of Emmanuel's revenues, had at this time come from Hither India to Malacca, for a few days. He was extremely intimate, and used to be often in company with Ninachet's sons: these men being desirous to revenge their father's death, confirmed the common report to Perestrello; and assured him they knew by letters, as well as other proofs, that Abedalla was engaged in a secret compact with the king of Bantam; and that he had a design of betraying the city of Malacca to that prince. Perestrello immediately informed George Albuquerque of what he had heard, and advised him, without delay, to put to death the traitor, before he had time to bring his villainous scheme into execution. Ninachet's sons being sent for, confirmed every thing, with the utmost assurance. Albuquerque, though he was a man of probity, yet at this juncture, he shewed a great deficiency in understanding, in not being more cautious how he gave credit to enemies in an affair of such importance: and either from real fear, or covetous, perhaps of the glory of cutting off so great a man, he went about it with great expedition: he sent therefore for Abedalla, accused him of the treachery, and produced all the evidence he had against him. Perestrello supported the charge with great violence and rancour. Abedalla implored the protection of Albuquerque, earnestly entreating him that he would not suffer an innocent man, who had been such a friend to the Portuguese, and so zealous in the service of Emmanuel, to fall a sacrifice to the malice and cruelty of his enemies. He demanded a proper time, that he might be able to vindicate his own integrity, and to bring to light the dark contrivances and malicious plots

plots of his enemies. Moreover, he cautioned Albuquerque to beware, lest, by the murder of an innocent man, he might bring an everlasting odium and aspersion on the Portuguese Name. ‘ Is this’ said he, ‘ to be the requital for all my services to the Portuguese, to fall a victim to the cruelty and artifice of a blood-thirsty prince? and shall those, by whom I am hated, on account of my zeal for Emmanuel, have the pleasure of rejoicing at my destruction? for what can be more agreeable to the king of Bantam than that I, whom he has unsuccessfully endeavoured to destroy by various methods, should fall by the hands of the Portuguese, to whose protection I have fled, and for whose sake I have abandoned my own kingdom? will it not, I say, highly delight my implacable enemy, when he sees you become the instruments of his revenge? the spectacle to him will be doubly grateful: it will at once satiate his cruelty, and make the Portuguese name odious and detestable. For what will those people say, who beheld me led in triumph from my kingdom, that I might be loaded with honours and protected from my enemies, when they behold me at once stripped of all my dignities, and like a malefactor dragged to an ignominious death, purely for my attachment to Emmanuel and to the Portuguese? I therefore conjure you, by the most sacred ties of friendship, humanity, and religion, and by those virtues which you yourself profess, that you would allow me time for my defence: If after that I shall appear guilty, I shall consider no punishment as too severe; destroy me by the most cruel tortures, as a wretch unworthy of life.’

But all the entreaties of Abedalla had no effect on Albuquerque, who though at other times a man of great lenity, yet at this juncture appeared to be entirely divested of humanity. This innocent prince, in his royal robes, was immediately hurried away to the market-place, where he was publicly beheaded, to the great sorrow and lamentation of all the spectators who beheld

beheld this tragical scene. As he went along to the place of execution, he held up his hands to heaven, and invoked the divine vengeance on those who had been his false accusers. The death of this man gave such general umbrage, that many of the merchants left Malacca, and wherever they went, they infused great prejudices against the Portuguese; saying they were a most perfidious people, who put to death their very best friends, without so much as allowing them to make their defence: that Ninachet and the king of Campar were memorable instances of their perfidy and ingratitude to those who have served them with the utmost zeal and fidelity. These things hurt our people so much, that none of the merchants, as usual, traded to Malacca. By this means the revenues were not only lessened, but the Portuguese and the rest of the citizens in Malacca began to be sorely afflicted with famine. But George Botello being sent to the neighbouring coasts with two ships, by his good management, and his interest with the neighbouring princes, he brought it about, that the merchants began again to bring goods and provisions to Malacca.

Whilst Botello was employed in this manner, the king of Bantam sent a letter to the king of Siaca, advising him to kill Botello: on this condition, he promised him his daughter in marriage, with a considerable dowry. The king of Siaca being allured by this promise, resolved to dispatch Botello, who was then his guest. But it happened that one of the king's domesticks (who had formerly been taken prisoner by Botello, and dismissed without ransom) discovered the plot, and by way of a grateful requital, gave intelligence thereof to his benefactor. The king of Bantam, lest this scheme should misgive, had likewise fitted out twelve ships, in order to intercept Botello on his return to Malacca. George Albuquerque being informed of this, sent nine ships, under the command of Francisco, as a convoy to Botello. The king of Bantam having received intelligence of this by his spies, dispatched

twenty

twenty four more. These, with the twelve sent before, accordingly met with Melos, with whom they had a severe engagement. Melos, however, having defeated the enemy, took many of their men prisoners, and after this success failed to Malacca.

This victory however was not purchased without blood. About thirty seven of the Portuguese were killed, besides a considerable number of the Malaccans. Botello, in like manner, returned safe to Malacca, bringing with him a considerable supply of provisions.

About this time, George Brito arrived at Malacca, being sent hither by the orders of Emmanuel, to take upon him the government of this place, in the room of George Albuquerque.

Albuquerque the viceroy, after Hamed's death, had settled the state of Ormus with great prudence. His justice and mildness had gained him the affection of all the people, as well as the love of the king himself; by his means many foreign nations resorted to Ormus, and commerce was greatly increased at this place. Several of the Persian and Arabian princes sent deputies with presents, in order to make treaties of peace with him: nay, there were some princes who came themselves to Ormus, purely to see a man of whom they had heard so much by fame.

In the mean while a report prevailed, that the grand signior was fitting out a fleet, to subdue Ormus. Albuquerque, though he did not much credit the report, yet he made this a pretence to send all the king's troops from the city, lest, as he said, they might revolt; on the same pretext he drew all the king's artillery and ammunition out of the city, saying he had occasion for them to strengthen the fort, which was the bulwark and defence of the city. But whilst Albuquerque was thus employed, he fell into a lingering distemper, the effect of years, or of too much fatigue, which every day grew worse and worse. As he now thought death was approaching, he entrusted the government of the fort to Pedro Albuquerque, a

gentleman of approved bravery and conduct, beloved by the citizens, and esteemed by the king himself: him he exhorted in the most earnest manner, that he would discharge his trust with justice, fidelity, and vigilance. He had settled the state of Ormus, and of India in general, in so firm a manner, that the Portuguese power could not be shaken without the utmost difficulty. He now made his will; nor did he omit any Christian duty that was necessary for the peace and welfare of his immortal soul. He had a strong desire of ending his days in India, and was particularly desirous of seeing Goa before he died. He therefore sent Pedro Alpoe to pay his respects to the king, and to inform him of his intention, and to assure him that, whilst he lived, he would behave to him as a tender parent. He, at the same time, recommended to his majesty Pedro Albuquerque, whom he had constituted governor of the fort and city. He said, however, that if it was God's pleasure, that he should recover from his present illness, he would then return to Ormus, and live on the same friendly footing with his majesty as formerly. The king received this message with tears in his eyes, and made answer, that he had, and would always love Albuquerque with the affection of a son; and would do his endeavour that no one should ever outstrip him in zeal and affection for Emmanuel. However, he said, he hoped that the viceroy would recover, and that he should have the pleasure of seeing him again at Ormus. Albuquerque, having thus payed his compliments to the king, that he might avoid any further ceremony, (for he had an aversion to such formalities) immediately went aboard, and ordered the ship to sail. When he had got about four miles from the city, he lay at anchor for the rest of the fleet, which came up with him about two days afterwards. At the same time there came a vessel from the king of Ormus, with fruits and provisions, and other valuable presents. Albuquerque received them with the utmost civility,
and

and expressed himself in the most grateful manner for his majesty's kindness. He then dismissed the men with many presents.

As Albuquerque sailed along the coast of India, a little vessel made towards his ship. Aboard of this there was a messenger with letters to him from Dio, wrote by Cide Alles, and Ismael's ambassador. By these he was advised, ' that Soarez Alvarenga was
' sent by Emmanuel to be his successor, and, he him-
' self ordered to return to Portugal. This they
' thought was most scandalous treatment; and at the
' same time, assured him, that their royal masters
' were ready to give him all the assistance in their pow-
' er to prevent such an indignity.' Albuquerque re-
turned them thanks, but disdained their offer. He was, however, not a little affected with the news; for he saw plainly, that his disgrace was brought about by the malice and detraction of his enemies: nor could he contain himself, but lifting up his hands, ' O Heavens,
said he, ' How can I extricate myself from the dif-
' ficulties which surround me? If I obey my king, I
' incur the odium and contempt of mankind: and
' if I study to please men, then I fall under the dis-
' pleasure of my royal master. To thy grave, old man,
' to thy grave.' These last words he repeated often, which shewed the agony and disorder in his breast. However, afterwards when his mind came to be more composed, he expressed himself in the following manner: ' I am verily persuaded, said he,
' that the king has a divine foreknowledge in many
' things, otherwise he could not have acted in the
' present affair with so much foresight. I am now
' wearing towards death; and if he had not at this
' time appointed my successor, the affairs in India
' might have been greatly endangered.' After he had spoke these words, his mind seemed to be at ease, nor did he shew the least mark of dissatisfaction.

As he proceeded on his voyage, his illness daily en-
creased. In the mean while he wrote a short letter

to Emmanuel, in these words: ‘ I now write you this
‘ last letter, fetching my breath with difficulty, and
‘ with all the symptoms of inevitable death upon me.
‘ I have an only son; him I recommend to your ma-
‘ jesty, hoping that, in consideration of my services,
‘ you will take him under your royal protection and
‘ favour. What I have done for your honour and
‘ interest, the deeds themselves will testify.’ After
he had wrote this letter, he laid aside all thoughts of
the affairs of this life, and gave himself entirely to
religious meditations, and preparations for a future
state. He ordered several parts of the holy scripture
to be read to him, particularly that place in John,
where the sufferings of our Saviour are described.
This was often read to him, and he seemed to hear
it with an uncommon degree of satisfaction. When
he came on the coast of Goa, he dispatched a mes-
senger ashore, to bring him a priest from the city,
with whom he had frequently before joined in religi-
ous worship. This person accordingly came, and
the night was spent in prayer and supplication and
other Christian duties. Albuquerque expired before
break of day.

When the news of his death reached the city, not
only the Portuguese, but also the Arabians, as well
as the Pagan nations, expressed the utmost sorrow and
lamentation. He was a man of the most extensive
humanity; nor is it easy to tell, whether he was more
dreaded for his bravery, or beloved for his benevolent
disposition. He always shewed the strictest regard to
justice, punishing breach of faith in the most exem-
plary manner, and protecting every one from injury
and oppression. He was never married, but had a na-
tural son: yet notwithstanding this, he was remarkable
for his continency. In toil and labour he was inde-
fatigable, insomuch that he was sometimes thought to
have carried things to an excess with his men in this
respect, yet it was not by threats or menaces, but by
his own example that he incited them to undergo
hardships.

hardships. In design and contrivance he discovered great sagacity, nor did he less excel in the quick execution of what he had determined. He was a great enemy to calumny and detraction; so that in his presence no one dared to asperse another man's reputation. He was a passionate lover of truth, and never failed to express the utmost detestation of falsehood and dissimulation. He bore injuries with a true greatness of soul. In his temper he was subject to passion, yet in the height of it he would often check himself, and by throwing out some pleasant expression, would take off the fear of those who beheld his angry countenance, and turn all into mirth and cheerfulness. He was a man not unacquainted with letters, and, at his leisure hours, took vast pleasure in reading the sacred writings. It is not an easy matter to say, whether he excell'd most in the arts of war or peace. In the former he behaved in such a manner, that he was justly reckoned an expert general, and, in settling the affairs of India, he gave the strongest proofs of his policy and skill in the art of government. All the people at Goa lamented his death as that of a tender parent. His corpse was brought ashore with the utmost solemnity, and the funeral rites were performed with the greatest magnificence, amidst the cries and lamentations of those who were present at the ceremony. All India was affected with the loss of this great man: many of the kings and princes expressed the deepest concern: Xuranda king of Ormus could not refrain from tears. He put on mourning, and gave all other demonstrations of sorrow and grief. Emmanuel too, when he received the news, could not help shewing the utmost regret, and immediately sent for his son Blas Albuquerque, who, in remembrance of his father, he ordered to be called Alphonso. And by way of requital for the services done by his father, he bestowed on him several dignities, and procured him a very honourable marriage.

The following year, Ferdinand king of Spain was seized with a violent fit of sickness, at the village of Madrigal, near the city of Trogillio. As soon as Emmanuel heard of this, he dispatched Roderigo Sala Menez to enquire after his health. Ferdinand died on the 23d of January 1516. His death was universally lamented through all Spain. When his Portuguese majesty received notice of this prince's death, by Menez, he sent letters to his queen Germania, to Ferdinand Philip's son, and grandson of the late king, and to several of the Spanish nobility, expressing the utmost concern and sorrow for the death of Ferdinand. He, at the same time, gave Menez instructions about settling several affairs of importance at the Spanish court. He next sent letters to Roderigo Ferdinand Almada, a man of great merit, and at that time, agent for his majesty's affairs at Antwerp, advising him from time to time, to give him proper notice of the state of affairs in the Netherlands as well as in Germany. He sent likewise an ambassador to the emperor Maximilian, grandfather of Charles the son of Philip, to whom the kingdom of Spain fell by inheritance. Pedro Correa was the person employed in this embassy, the purport of which was a proposal of marriage betwixt Charles and Isabel, Emmanuel's daughter; and an alliance of the same nature with Eleanor and his son John. Maximilian received the ambassador with great civility, and seemed to read the letters with vast satisfaction. Correa, however, not being able to accomplish his business at that time, by the permission of his royal master, returned to Portugal.

This year, pope Leo the tenth presented Emmanuel's son Alphonso, with a cardinal's cap, and at the same time, ordered that Isabel the wife of Dionisius, king of Portugal, for her great piety and devotion should be canonized, and receive the same honours in Portugal as the other saints. He likewise granted a privilege to the Portuguese kings, that henceforth they alone, without the authority of the pope himself, should

should have the liberty of conferring the commanderies of the Jacobin and Cistercian orders on whom they pleased. These favours were granted to Emmanuel, partly from the esteem which Leo had conceived for him, and partly brought about by the good conduct of Michael Sylvio, Emmanuel's ambassador at Rome, who was in the highest favour with his holiness :

But to return to the Indian affairs ; Lopez Suarez Alvarenga had a difficult task on his hands ; for he had succeeded a man to whom he was greatly inferior in point of capacity and abilities : however, he was by no means remiss in the execution of his office. He sent an ambassador to Coulam, to settle articles of peace and friendship with the queen, who managed the sovereignty in place of her son, not of age. The articles were these : ' That she should, at her cost, rebuild and endow the church of St. Thomas, which had been destroyed by the Arabians, at the time when Antony Sala was killed : That she should give the Portuguese eight thousand pound weight of spices, as a satisfaction for the goods taken from them : That the Portuguese ships should receive their full lading, before any others ; and that they should have the goods at the current price.'

He took care to get ready the fleet bound for Portugal. He continued the peace which had been made by Albuquerque with the zamorin, and he settled the commotions which broke out at Cananor.

When he was on his return to Goa, a sudden storm arose, which obliged him to put in at Anchedive. From thence he dispatched Alexo Menez with eight ships to cruize on the Arabian coast, and to winter at Ormus. When the governor reached Goa, according to Emmanuel's instructions, he held a council, wherein it was debated, whether it would be expedient for the Portuguese interest to destroy the city of Goa, and abandon the island ; for the enemies of Albuquerque not only defamed him when alive, but

also had such a hatred to his memory, that they wanted to abolish his deeds, saying they were useless and unprofitable. For this reason they laboured to undo all that he had done at Goa. However, it was carried in the council that Goa should be kept up, and defended by a strong garison; which opinion was confirmed by that of Suarez himself. The governor then set sail again for Cochin, in order to fit out a fleet destined for the red sea. He likewise sent Ferdinand Pedro Andrade to China.

Andrade accordingly set sail with three ships. In his way thither, he put in at the port of Pacem in Sumatra. Here he found Janim Rabelot, by whom he sent notice of his arrival to the king, who received him very kindly, and treated him with the highest marks of honour. A treaty of friendship was settled with this prince, and a place was allotted where the Portuguese were allowed to build a fort. Andrade then sailed for Malacca; from whence, after having taken in a supply of provisions, he set out on his voyage for China: but meeting with contrary winds, he was driven back to Malacca. At his return, he found here Raphael Perestrello lately come from China, who gave him a particular account of the laws and customs of the country, as well as of the genius and dispositions of the people.

George Britto, the governor of Malacca, at this time sent Henry Lemos to Martaban, a port in the kingdom of Pegu, to fetch a supply of provisions. Pegu is a large and extensive kingdom in Farther India, beyond the Ganges. Towards the south it runs as far as Malacca; and towards the east it is washed by some part of that sea which bounds the Chinese territories. Lemos in his way took a ship from Martaban. When he arrived at that port, the Arabians accused him of piracy and injustice; and the king prepared a fleet in order to recover the ship by force. Lemos being accordingly attacked, fought the enemy three days. He sunk several of their ves-

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sels, and killed many of their men; but was at last shipwrecked. His ship was old and crazy, and being battered by the enemy's engines, she let in the sea, and so perished. Lemos himself, with sixty of his men, escaped in the long boat and pinnace, and made for Sumatra: but meeting with boisterous weather, they were stranded on the coast, at which time twenty eight of the Portuguese were swallowed up in the waves. The rest, together with Lemos got ashore, in the kingdom of Pedir, where they were received by the king with the utmost friendship and humanity.

Alexo Menez met with the most stormy weather; so that he could do but little on the coast of Arabia. From thence he sailed to Ormus, where he performed the orders of Soarez with the utmost carefulness, and from thence, as soon as the season of the year would permit, returned to India.

Whilst these things were transacted in India, Emmanuel was employing himself with great assiduity in propagating the Christian religion: and as he understood that the truths of Christianity had already made considerable progress in the kingdom of Congo in Æthiopia, he was desirous this great work should be perfected. For this purpose he sent several priests, with books and other presents to king Alphonso, to strengthen him in his faith, and to encourage the people to a proper zeal for religion. At the time when these persons arrived in Congo, the king himself was then absent, being engaged in a war with some of his tributaries who had revolted. They landed at Sonho, situate on the river Zaire, where they were received by the king's domesticks with the greatest civility.

The king having ended the campaign successfully, returned, and he was not a little rejoiced to see the persons who came from Portugal. He expressed himself in the most grateful manner for the services done by Emmanuel. Our priests bestowed the highest enco-

encomiums on Alphonso. He was certainly a prince of the most excellent qualities. He punished the wicked with great severity, and relieved the poor and virtuous of his subjects with the utmost generosity. He was indefatigable in settling the affairs of his kingdom. In his life and morals he was irreproachable: and so great was his piety and zeal for religion, that he seemed to make every thing subservient to that purpose. For in all his administration, whether in peace or war, he appeared always to have a regard for the interest of religion. He ordered publick schools to be opened, and appointed able masters, with handsome salaries, that they should not only instruct the youths in arts and sciences, but also instil into them the principles of piety and virtue. He himself, at his leisure hours, used to take great pleasure in study. He was well versed in the scriptures of the old and new testament, and acquired great knowledge by his own reading, which he had likewise not a little improved by his conversation with the priests, to whom he always listened with uncommon attention and curiosity. He himself made frequent discourses to his people, wherein he endeavoured to inspire them with piety and love of religion. He was a man of an excellent understanding, and a strong memory. He read over five books of the Portuguese laws, with great carefulness. He very much admired the wisdom of our constitution, but seemed to think that our laws, though good, were too minute, and swelled to too great a multiplicity. He therefore, in a jocular manner, used to ask the Portuguese, what punishment the law had fixed on the man who should throw a louse on the ground? He had conceived so high an esteem for Emmanuel, that he used to say, he should never have any pleasure in life; till he had gone into Portugal, to throw himself at the feet of his Portuguese majesty, and to acknowledge his obligations to that prince; for that he enjoyed the light of Christianity; that he worshipped the
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the true God, and aspired to immortal life; all this he said he owed to the great and renowned Emmanuel.

This year Francis Vallois the French king, sent an embassador, with letters to Emmanuel, inviting him to enter into a league against some other Christian princes. Emmanuel made answer, That he had the greatest regard for his Gallick majesty, and would do any thing to oblige him that was not unbecoming the duty of a Christian prince; that as for his part, he was resolved, if possible, to destroy the Arabians, those enemies of our religion: but that he would not stir up or promote wars amongst Christian powers; on the contrary, he would do all in his power to unite them in harmony and concord.

About this same time three noblemen of Sarmatia arrived in Portugal, being desirous to see the great Emmanuel, whose fame had spread to distant nations, and had raised universal admiration. For whilst the rest of the princes in christendom, forgetting the character of their holy religion, were destroying each other, and by their divisions adding strength to the enemies of Christianity, Emmanuel was acting a more noble part; he could by no means be prevailed on to have any share in the dissentions amongst the Christian princes, but with great spirit he was carrying on war in Africa and India, against the enemies of our holy religion. In his reign a passage had been discovered to the most distant countries; India had been conquered; many of the eastern nations had been subdued; several formidable fleets of the Arabians, Persians and Ægyptians had been overcome: in short, such signal victories had been acquired, that the Divine providence seemed to have interested itself in favour of Emmanuel. The fame of these exploits, had filled many foreign princes with admiration, but especially the king of Sarmatia, who with equal zeal carried on war against the Turks, and the other enemies of the Christian name. This monarch persuaded

these three youths to travel to Portugal, in order to see Emmanuel; and to desire of his majesty, that he would with his own hands confer on them the order of knighthood: for they thought they should always be victorious in the field, after they had received such an honour from so illustrious a prince. They obtained their request; and after having received many valuable presents, they set out again for their native country, wherever they travelled bestowing the highest encomiums on Emmanuel, for his many excellent qualifications.

This year the king of Fez made frequent incursions on the lands near Arzila, and drove off considerable numbers of cattle; so that the city was reduced to great extremity for want of provisions. In order to remedy this calamity, Coutign resolved to attack a very opulent village near Alcazarquivir, the inhabitants of which, by reason of the distance of the place, dreaded nothing from him. He set out with two hundred and fifty horse, and having marched all night, he came upon the enemy unawares, before break of day. He took about fifty five prisoners (the rest of the enemy having fled) and carried off one thousand oxen, together with a considerable number of horses and poultry: these he brought safe to Arzila, though with the greatest difficulty, the rivers being swelled to a great degree by the rains which had fallen that night. The governor of Alcazarquivir followed our people with three hundred horse; but the excessive rains hindered them from coming to an action. Coutign had hardly passed over a certain bridge, when it was overflowed by the waters, which covered the adjacent fields. The enemy marched back again, being afraid lest if they had proceeded, they should not be able to return. Coutign made several excursions afterwards on the neighbouring enemies, and laid waste their lands.

The king of Fez, irritated by these hostilities, got together a numerous army, with an intention to lay

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siege to Arzila. His army consisted of thirty thousand horse, and seventy thousand foot. With these, together with a train of artillery, and all manner of warlike engines, he marched for Arzila. He threw up a trench round the city, erected several turrets, and having planted his cannon, he began to batter the city most furiously. He likewise ordered the walls to be undermined, being resolved, if possible, to carry the place, before the besieged could receive any assistance. Coutign, as soon as he received intelligence of the enemy's approach, had sent to Nunez Ribero, agent for the Portuguese affairs in Andalusia, then residing at Malaga, earnestly desiring him to send him all things necessary for holding out a siege. He had likewise sent a letter to Emmanuel, advising him that the king of Fez was sat down before Arzila; he had distributed his forces; he had assigned his officers their proper stations, and had placed the strongest guards on the weakest parts of the city; he had encouraged his men to make a gallant defence, and, in short, had taken all effectual measures for the security of Arzila. Ribero, with great expedition, sent Coutign all necessary supplies. John Mascaregn, master of the light horse, with his brother Nunez, sailed to Arzila with two ships, aboard which were one hundred and twenty horse and some foot soldiers. They had likewise two other brothers, Emmanuel and Antonio Mascaregn, who were already at Arzila under Coutign. When these gentlemen arrived, the siege was then carried on with the greatest vigour. Nunez Ribero sent two hundred men, under the conduct of two noblemen, who, for their eminent services had received great honours from Emmanuel, to whose interest they were warmly attached. There were likewise in this reinforcement several other persons of distinction, all whom Coutign received with the utmost respect, and assigned them such stations as were suitable to their merit and quality. The besieged continued incessantly at work night and day, digging under ground, to counter-

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termine the enemy, repairing the breaches, and building up new walls within the old ones. Francisco Dorea, a Genoese, cousin to Andrew Dorea, so greatly celebrated for his skill in maritime affairs, was the head engineer, to whom was likewise joined Roderigo Soufa. These two men at this juncture, gave such extraordinary proofs of their dexterity and industry, that they were beheld and talked of with universal admiration. The rest performed their duty to the utmost of their abilities, encountering the most horrid dangers with amazing intrepidity. The enemy gave our people no manner of respite; for the king of Fez had resolved, if he could not carry the place in a few days, to raise the siege, thinking it would be in vain to spend any longer time on the attempt. For this reason, he stormed the city with the utmost heat and fury. Some threw arrows and missile weapons, in order to clear the fortifications of the defendants; some plied the walls with the continual discharge of their cannon, whilst others were employed in springing mines. They had likewise a continual supply of fresh men, to succeed the weary and fatigued. Our people were certainly reduced to the utmost extremity; however, they still retained their spirits, and made a most glorious defence: nor could all the efforts of the enemy oblige any of them to desert their post; for they continued to oppose the assailants with the utmost courage, and many fell on both sides.

Things were in this situation when Roderigo Barriga came from Algarve with twelve ships. His arrival gave fresh courage to the besieged: they were now resolved, though the walls should fall, to fight the enemy in the ruins, and to engage them in the burrows under ground. In this fleet was Garcia Melos, who brought with him six hundred brave men, as well as several others of the Algarvan nobility, who, at their own expence, levied men to assist at this critical juncture. There were likewise several mariners from the coast of Algarve, excellent soldiers as well as sailors, who

who failed to the besieged city, where they behaved with great gallantry. About this time a Moor deserted to the enemy, and informed them that the besieged, had received a strong reinforcement. The king of Fez, being alarmed with this news, would instantly have raised the siege, but was dissuaded from it by his brother king Mequizeze. In the mean while Lopez Sequeira, by Emmanuel's orders, arrived at Arzila with thirty sail of ships, the two kings then with joint consent abandoned the enterprize and marched off with their army. Coutign drewn out all his cavalry, pursued the enemy, and coming up with their rear, killed some of them and took some prisoners.

At this time John Gundissalvo Camara governour of the Maderas complained of his hard treatment from king Emmanuel. He was so much offended, that he left his government notwithstanding his income and possessions there were considerable, and intended to fix his residence in some place out of the Portuguese dominions. He complained that the jurisdiction of the Maderas, which he received as an inheritance from his ancestors, had been taken from him, or at least his privileges greatly diminished: this, in his opinion, seemed to be an indignity not to be born. After his departure he was driven into Algarve by stress of weather. Having heard that Arzila was besieged, he, at his own expence, levied seven hundred soldiers, and failed for that place with the utmost expedition. But before he arrived there, the enemy had decamped, yet according to report, they were to return with a more formidable armament. The nobility then at Arzila, having been at great expence, were now hastening to return home, nor could Goutign detain them. Camara offered the soldiers double pay; affirming he would keep them in the city as long as Coutign thought necessary, nor would he allow any one to be deficient in his duty to his king and country.

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This I thought not unworthy of a place in our history, as a remarkable instance of a Portuguese nobleman's fidelity to his prince. As peevish children are apt to complain of their parents, so the Portuguese nobility, when provoked by the slightest injury, are apt to make bitter complaints of their princes, from whom they derive their nobility, and by whom they are supported; yet, notwithstanding they may be piqued, their resentment generally subsides when any publick danger threatens: then they are ready to risque their lives and fortunes for the honour and interest of their prince. Camara, after having behaved with great honour, retired to Seville; but had not been long there when he was recalled by Emmanuel, who wrote him a very kind and friendly letter.

About this time the Arabians of Olidemeta, near the territories of Morocco, tributaries of Emmanuel, complained to Ataide, that the Arabians of Xerque laid waste their lands, and did them considerable damage. Ataide was obliged by articles of treaty to defend them against any injury. Those of Xerque, against whom the complaint was made, were men of renown for their skill in war. They likewise had been tributary to Emmanuel; but having revolted, they encamped beyond Morocco, from whence they ravaged the neighbouring lands, and harrassed the Moors who remained faithful to Emmanuel. Ataide dispatched scouts to observe their motions and situation: these, at their return, brought intelligence, that they were encamped at the bottom of the Clavian mountains. Ataide accordingly set out on the 19th of May 1516, with four hundred and thirty horse and a few foot; but his design was kept secret. When he had marched about thirty miles he was joined by the Moors of Dabida and Garabia, who brought into the field four thousand cavalry. He then proceeded to Alguz, an open champaign country, extremely fertile, and watered with a river of the same name: it lies adjoining to Morocco. Here Ataide left the Arabian women, and all who were unfit to

bear arms. As soon as it was dark he continued his march. In a few hours he reached the place where Raho Benxamut, one of the most renowned Arabian generals, was encamped. He made so sudden and unexpected an attack on the enemy, that they were unable to stand on their defence: the slaughter was terrible, Benxamut and a few more having only escaped.

Ataide now set out on his return with a considerable booty: Lopez Barriga led the van, and Ataide himself brought up the rear. When he had got about four miles from Morocco he halted with his men in a very pleasant place, to rest them after their fatigue; for the weather was intolerably hot and scorching. Whilst our people lay here, Benxamut rode almost up to the camp with a party of horse: then calling aloud to the Arabians who were in the Portuguese army, and mentioning them by their names, he bid them seize the present glorious opportunity. ‘ If, said he, you kill these Christians, you will perform a most grateful service to our prophet, and at the same time rescue your country from a state of subjection. By the blood of these Portuguese you will atone for your apostacy, and your names will become for ever illustrious by so great a deed. Come, brethren, come, fellow soldiers, to-morrow we shall recover Saffia, the next day we shall retake Azamor; and when the Portuguese are rooted out of Africa, then shall we be raised from obscurity, and our fame grow immortal.’ After he had spoke these words, our people marched out in the order in which they had been drawn up. The confederates made no answer to him, but advanced with their booty to the first line, in order to be the farther from danger. Amongst the captives taken by the Portuguese there was Hota, the wife of Raho Benxamut, a woman of the most extraordinary beauty, whom he loved to distraction. She called on her husband by name, who accordingly stopped; and having obtained liberty to have a conference with him, ‘ O Raho, said she, how often have you told me you
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' would sacrifice your life, rather than see me led a
 ' captive? Yet now behold me in that condition, and
 ' tamely suffer it. Where now is your former love?
 ' Where is your plighted faith? Where now is your
 ' boasted courage?' To this he answered, ' The day
 ' is not yet ended: victory is at the disposal of the
 ' supreme Being, and there is courage in my right
 ' hand.' But Hota taking some dust, threw it up in
 the air: ' This, said she, is a true emblem of your
 ' words. Go, ungrateful man, enjoy the woman who
 ' is the object of your affection; for I find I am not
 ' she. In the mean while, I will for ever complain of
 ' your perfidy and cowardice, two of the most in-
 ' famous qualities with which a man can be reproached.'
 Benxamut pulled off his shoe, and threw it to her:
 this, according to the custom of that nation, was given
 as a most sacred pledge, that he would fulfil his pro-
 mise with the strictest fidelity. Then, turning to his
 men, he endeavoured to raise their pity by tears and
 expressions of the deepest sorrow. ' If, said he, ye
 ' ever felt the pain of love, now pity me, and lend
 ' your assistance to heal the wound which torments my
 ' breast. If you ever had love of honour, and a con-
 ' tempt of death, I now claim your aid to defend me
 ' from infamy and disgrace. If you ever had any re-
 ' gard for my life, I now intreat you to save me from
 ' impending destruction; for whilst I behold this wo-
 ' man in captivity, I cannot long enjoy life in so much
 ' grief and shame. Consider too, continued he, how
 ' agreeable it will be to our holy prophet, when you
 ' fight for his law against his avowed enemies.' When
 he had spoke these words, he pushed on his men with
 great fury, and attacked the rear of the Portuguese
 army, commanded by Alphonso Norhogna, who with-
 stood the enemy in the most couragious manner, tho'
 with great difficulty. Ataide coming up to Norhogna,
 said to him, smiling, ' Do not utterly destroy my
 ' Moors, whom I have trained up with so much pains:
 ' leave a few, by way of seed. Go you to the first
 ' line;

* line; I will defend the rear.' His son-in-law refused at first to comply; but being at last obliged to submit, he obeyed his orders. Ataide, having mounted a fresh horse, withstood the enemy in such a manner, that he kept his men in their ranks, and continued his march with great regularity; being obliged, however, often to face about and attack the enemy. In one of these rencounters Raho observed Ataide's throat to be bare, his coat of mail not covering it: he accordingly threw at him a javelin with great force, which pierced his throat. Thus by one blow this great man fell, who had done the enemy such considerable damage; and by his fall the Portuguese were thrown into the utmost distraction: for, immediately after his death, there happened a tumult amongst our people, which brought on their destruction. One party insisted on having Alphonso Norhogna made general, whilst another was as strenuous for Alphonso Ataide. Thus as, in peaceable times ambitious citizens are apt to form dissensions about the distribution of honours; so did they, when in the midst of danger, contend with equal animosity. To such a degree did their madness proceed, that they were well nigh leaving the enemy, and turning their swords upon each other. The confederate Moors seeing this distraction amongst our people, as Raho had advised them, joined themselves with the enemy, that they might become sharers in such considerable booty. Thus it happened that almost all the Portuguese, partly by their own folly, and partly by the treachery of their allies, were that day killed or taken prisoners: amongst these was Alphonso Norhogna, and many other persons of distinction, who were all killed on the spot.

The Moors, elated by this success, began to be very confident of themselves. Some of Emmanuel's tributaries revolted; and others, wavering in their resolution, waited to see the further event: but none of them imagined that any general could be found equal to Ataide, in courage and ability. Raho quitted the field with all the splendour and dignity of a conqueror,

enriched with immense booty, and accompanied with his dearest wife, whom he prized above all treasure. He was beheld with universal admiration, and his bravery was extolled by the highest encomium : yet all his glory was but short lived ; for a few days after the victory, in an engagement betwixt Xerif and the king of Fez, he was killed by one of the enemy, whom he pursued : his antagonist, having of a sudden faced about, run him through with his spear. Hota was the most inconsolate widow : after having buried him with great pomp, she fasted nine days, and expired, having given orders that she should be interred in the same grave with Benxamut ; for, she said, she could not endure the thoughts of being separated from her husband, either when alive or dead.

As soon as Emmanuel received the news of the late disaster, he sent Nunez Mascaregn, a bold enterprising man, to succeed Ataide. At this time Jehabentaf was in Portugal : he was deeply affected when he heard of the defeat. One thing in particular touched him, namely, his apprehension that Emmanuel, being offended at the infidelity of the Moors, would put no more confidence in the rest of the nation : this, he foresaw, would be attended with the greatest inconveniences, and would hinder him from executing some great designs which he had projected. Being uneasy in his mind, he went to the king, and earnestly beseeched him, that he would not, for the fault of a few, distrust a whole people : that there was no nation where there were not to be found some men of wicked and abandoned principles. ‘ If, said he, the perfidy
 ‘ of a few abandoned wretches is to cause a general
 ‘ suspicion to be thrown on all mankind, to whom
 ‘ could monarchs have recourse ? What exploits could
 ‘ they then achieve, when destitute of assistance, from
 ‘ the bad opinion they entertain of men ? For he who
 ‘ is mistrustful of every one, will not give the ma-
 ‘ nagement of the most trivial affair to any person : a
 ‘ king of such a disposition is unfit to reign. He ought

‘ to retire from human society, and shut himself up in
‘ woods and desarts. As nothing is more impolitic
‘ than a precipitate credulity, so likewise, on the other
‘ hand, ’tis highly unsalutary to act with too much
‘ diffidence.

‘ I confess, that those who deserted their allies, and
‘ imbrued their hands in their blood, have been guilty
‘ of the most horrid crime: yet all the confederates
‘ there present were not accomplices in the guilt. The
‘ chief persons were not only innocent, but, as much
‘ as lay in their power, restrained their countrymen.
‘ Besides, there were many who gave an incontestable
‘ proof of their fidelity, by sacrificing their lives,
‘ being slain together with the Portuguese: and those
‘ who proved treacherous, I am apt to think, would
‘ not have behaved in such a manner, had they not
‘ looked on their affairs as in a desperate situation from
‘ the divisions of the Portuguese, in electing a comman-
‘ der. Prompted therefore by self-preservation, and the
‘ hope of booty, they abandoned the ties of honour
‘ and fidelity, and chose rather to live in shame than
‘ die with glory and reputation. I do not pretend to
‘ extenuate their guilt: on the contrary, I would have
‘ you use your royal authority in punishing their per-
‘ fidy; for as it is the duty of a prince to reward the
‘ faithful, so is it no less incumbent on him to chastise
‘ the faithless. But what I aim at, is to make it ap-
‘ pear to you, that they do not all stand equally con-
‘ victed, and that the dissensions amongst the Portu-
‘ guese very much contributed to this defection: I
‘ have therefore great hopes, if you use the assistance
‘ of the well-affected, and establish a strict discipline
‘ amongst your troops, that you may repair this loss
‘ by many considerable advantages. You have tried
‘ and approved my fidelity on various occasions: for
‘ my attachment to you, I have drawn on myself the
‘ resentment of many of my own nation; nor did I
‘ ever decline the greatest dangers for your honour.
‘ If then you have any regard for my past services, I

‘ earnestly conjure you, who trusted me before you
‘ had experienced my fidelity, that now, after having
‘ received so many proofs of my untainted faith, you
‘ would still put greater confidence in me ; for I am
‘ positive, that I shall be able to bring into the Portu-
‘ guese interest many more troops than they, who,
‘ through cowardice and avarice, lately deserted from
‘ your majesty.’

Jehabentaf having frequently spoke to Emmanuel in this manner, and with great warmth, at last prevailed on him to make use of his assistance to regain the affections of the Moors, and to give them hopes of his royal mercy, and protection. Jehabentaf accordingly set out with Pedro Mascaregn for Saffia, where they arrived the latter end of July, with a considerable number of soldiers, and a supply of warlike stores. Jehabentaf immediately sent letters to all the chiefs of the confederate Moors, advising them of his arrival. This news gave them the highest satisfaction, which they shewed by the greatest demonstrations of joy : for he was a man of extraordinary courage, and of great experience in war ; insomuch that all those who served under him, marched as if it were to certain victory, and attacked the enemy with an unusual confidence. Many of the confederate Moors, after having received assurances that they should not be hurt, on account of the late treachery to the Portuguese, returned into the city. They were received by Mascaregn in a very kind manner ; and having had assurance of Emmanuel’s protection, they became warmly attached to the Portuguese interest. It was now debated in council, concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the Moors who had proved treacherous : their number was so considerable, that it was no easy matter to punish them all ; and it seemed to be unjust, that a few only should suffer, for a crime in which so many had been equally involved. Besides, our people were at this juncture afraid to commit any severity, lest it might raise new commotions, and might be a means to alienate many
from

from their interest. It, therefore, seemed most expedient to defer any thing of this nature to a more favourable occasion; and, in the mean time, to set a mark on those who had been most active in the late defection, and to cut them off by degrees, as opportunity served.

This year queen Mary was delivered of a son, who was called Antonio. The child however died soon after, and her majesty remained in a most dangerous condition after her delivery.

About this time a Portuguese carvel, bound for Arzila, was taken in sight of that place by some Moorish pirates; and it being then low water, the Portuguese fleet, which lay in the harbour, could not give her any assistance. Francisco Soveral, who commanded the carvel, was killed by many wounds, after having fought very bravely. Soon after Gundissalvo Vasco, one of the Portuguese guides, met with a most unhappy fate: he was by birth a Moor, and a man of a great undaunted soul. He had been bred a Mahometan; but, having abjured that execrable religion, had embraced the Christian faith. This man having received a contusion in his leg, in the wars, had gone to Tangier to have the help of a very eminent surgeon: as soon as the cure was completed, he went aboard a ship for Arzila, where his wife and family resided, whom he longed to see with the utmost impatience. The master of the vessel assured him, that he could make that port in the space of three hours; but the wind failing, the ship was detained at sea, and fell into the hands of two Moorish corsairs. Vasco, though a man of great courage, yet having no weapons of defence, and being certain he must die if he came into the power of the enemy, jumped into the long-boat, thinking to save himself by rowing; but unfortunately he and his little son were taken. The enemy having boarded the ship, took all the men and women whom they found in her, and conveyed them to Tetuan. The women by their tears, and, what was more persuasive, by promises of

large ranfome, were fet at liberty; as were likewise the men on the fame condition, excepting Gundiffalvo Vasco: and notwithstanding many persons of diftinction offered confiderable fums for his redemption, yet the Moors, tho' greedy of money, could not be prevailed on to fet him at liberty on any terms; fo inveterate were they againft him, becaufe he had renounced the Mahometan religion. They defigned to put him to death by the moft cruel tortures; and, firft of all, they murdered his fon before his eyes. This cruel fpectacle did not fhake Vasco's refolution; and he endeavoured to encourage the boy, by the moft animating words, to die for the glory of Chrift. Thefe favages then fhut up the father's legs and hands in pieces of wood, and fcourged him in a moft barbarous manner. They pulled off his nails, and pinched off his flefh piece by piece, that he might die a cruel and lingering death. Gundiffalvo, in the mean while, feemed to fmile amidft all thefe tortures; and having often invoked the name of Chrift, he returned thanks that he had been deemed worthy of fo great an honour: for he accounted nothing more glorious than to die a martyr for his fake, who had fuffered fuch tortures on the crofs for the redemption of mankind. His enemies, exasperated at his conftancy, doubled his tortures; for they could not endure to fee that all their endeavours, to flagger and weaken his refolution, availed nothing. They became therefore enraged with fury and madnefs; and the more he persevered in his firmnefs of foul, the more did they heighten their cruelty and barbarity. But when they ftill heard him praifing the name of Chrift, and exclaiming againft that of Mahomet, they cut out his tongue: yet, even then, the language of his eyes and countenance feemed to exprefs more than the tongue could utter; and, amidft all his tortures, he preferved an air of triumph over their barbarity. Though now deprived of fpeech, yet his foul converfed with God, whofe praife he celebrated more by his filence than could be done by the utmoft pomp of eloquence.

quence. After he had endured the utmost tortures for two days, his soul departed to the regions of eternal bliss. He left a brother, who likewise had embraced the Christian faith: some years afterwards he was taken by the enemy, and, after the example of Vasco, also suffered a most cruel death for his religion, with amazing intrepidity.

In the mean while Fernando Gomez Lemos had arrived in Persia: he had a grand reinue, mounted on forty camels, which Ismael had prepared for that purpose. He and all his attendants were received, in the parts through which they travelled, with the utmost civility. The ambassador was conducted by Habraim Ben, one of Ismael's generals. They stopped one day at Carmasa, formerly a wealthy and populous city; but having proved rebellious, had been demolished by Ismael's orders, and at that time it had only a garrison of soldiers. The next day they proceeded to Carma, a city surrounded with walls, and fortified with a ditch and rampart: there they were introduced into a most magnificent temple, situate upon a large river; which, taking a winding course, makes the country through which it runs extremely fertile and pleasant. They came next to Caixam, a strong and opulent city, where Mirabucca (formerly deputy to Albuquerque, and now commander of Ismael's army) met them with a numerous body of horse and foot; and at the same time attended with the ambassadors from Zabiam Idalcam, and the king of Daguim. Here Lemos and his attendants remained ten days; and having refreshed themselves after their fatigue, they set out for Ismael's camp, which they reached in ten days journey. Before they entered the camp, the master of the king's household, a person of great distinction, came out to receive them, who entered into a pleasant conversation with our people, 'till the camels came up with the baggage: then he ordered their tents to be fixed near his own, and an entertainment to be served up, which, by Ismael's particular orders, was furnished with variety and

and plenty of all sort of provisions. When our people arrived at this place, they had now travelled one thousand miles. The camp was situate in a large plain, furrounded on all sides by prodigious high mountains, mottly covered with snow. In this spot there were thirty-five thousand tents: the army consisted of one hundred thousand cavalry, besides a considerable number of women, and other attendants.

The day after Lemos's arrival, Ismael went to take the diversion of hunting, being attended with eight thousand cavalry, who followed him at a moderate distance. If any of these had occasion to communicate any thing to his majesty, they used to ride up to him, and, after having delivered their message, they returned to their rank. The steward of the royal household was left to entertain the Portuguese ambassador. He, in order to add the greater grandeur to the entertainment, invited all the other foreign ambassadors: every thing was conducted with the utmost magnificence: there was variety of costly dishes to please the palate, plenty of the richest wines to cheer the heart, and musick of all sorts to sooth the ear. All the guests who had been invited were clothed in embroidered silks. The entertainment begun in the morning, and continued 'till the evening. In the mean while Ismael, having returned from hunting, passed by the tent where they were carousing: all immediately came forth, and saluted his majesty. He gave the Portuguese ambassador several rich suits of cloaths, and many other presents.

Some days after Lemos was admitted to an audience; Ismael received him in a tent embroidered with gold, seated on a throne hung with the richest tapestry, and furrounded with all his nobles. He received Emmanuel's letter with a chearful countenance, and ordered the ambassador, with his attendants, to sit down: he then began to talk very familiarly with Lemos, asking him many questions about the health and welfare of the pope, and in relation to the power and authority
of

of his holiness. He likewise enquired particularly about Emmanuel's morals, age, and disposition; as likewise concerning the nature of his government, and the number of his children. He also expressed an equal curiosity to be informed about Albuquerque's exploits; and asked such questions about the arts of war and peace, as shewed him to be a prince of no less humanity than understanding. The ambassador delivered him several presents from Albuquerque, which he received with the highest marks of satisfaction. After his majesty had spent some time in an agreeable conversation with Lemos, he ordered a table to be covered, and an entertainment to be served up; and that another, furnished with the richest dishes, should be placed near his own, for the nobility and ambassadors. All the guests appeared chearful, and every one talked with freedom and affability: none present regarded the law of Mahomet, which forbids the drinking of wine; nay, they even thought it a crime to mix it with water, and seemed to contend who should drink the largest bumpers. Ismael himself taking up a large cup, ordered it to be filled to the brim, and drank it off in an exulting manner, boasting that he alone had drank more than all the company together. When he observed any dish or wine on his own table remarkably good, he sent it to the ambassadors: they, in the mean while, were extremely jocular and facetious; and throwing off care, intirely devoted themselves to mirth and jollity. All ceremony and reserved behaviour was at this time laid aside, and nothing appeared but the utmost freedom and frankness: the entertainment was begun before noon, and lasted 'till sun-set. The ambassadors having been presented with rich cloaths, and other things of value, were dismissed to their tents.

In the mean while the king often moved his camp, but he always kept up the same magnificence in his way of living. Some days afterwards he gave answer to the Portuguese ambassador. The embassy consisted of three

three heads. First, That Emmanuel was desirous of entering into an offensive and defensive league with Ismael; and as he knew that his Persian majesty was at that time engaged in war with the Grand Seigneur, and Selim the Egyptian sultan, he offered him all the assistance in his power. Secondly, it was required, That, in order to confirm such a treaty, Ismael should send ambassadors into Portugal; promising, at the same time, that Albuquerque should provide ships to convey them from Ormus. Thirdly, Ismael was solicited by Albuquerque to recall the Persians under Zabaira Idalcam; and that he would enact a law, that none of his subjects should serve under any power against the Portuguese. To the first of these articles it was answered, That the conduct of the Portuguese did not agree with their friendly professions; for, if Emmanuel was so desirous of friendship, how came it about that his people forcibly took Ormus, a city which was tributary to Ismael, and under his protection? As to sending ambassadors to Portugal it was replied, That the way was long, dangerous, and attended with numberless difficulties. The following year war was to be carried on with the Turks, and Ismael said, that he hoped the same of this would reach Portugal, and supply the place of ambassadors. As soon as the war with Selim was finished, he said he intended to carry his arms into Arabia; but that he did not stand in need of the assistance of any other monarch in that affair: however, if the Portuguese were willing to give a proof of their friendship, he desired that the assistance offered by Albuquerque against the Arabians, might be employed against the cities of Elcatif and Baharen, situate in the Persian gulph, which had revolted from his authority, and which he intended to bring again under his subjection. There, he said, Albuquerque might be extremely serviceable to him, because of the neighbourhood of Ormus. As to the soldiers under Zabaim Idalcam, he said they were out of his dominions, received pay
from

from another sovereign, and consequently not under his jurisdiction: besides, that he had a treaty of friendship with Zabaim, which he could not violate without the highest breach of faith. However, he promised to write to that prince, and, if possible, to persuade him to cease hostilities with the Portuguese. Lastly, he said that he had given strict orders to all his subjects, who should sail in the Persian gulph, to pay the greatest deference to Albuquerque, and by all means to cultivate a friendship with our people. This was the answer which he gave in publick to Lemos; but he said, that he would discuss every particular more fully with him in private.

Ismael, a few days after, decamped again; and having drawn out his army, surrounded the mountains, which were twelve miles in compass: and the wild beasts, being dislodged, were driven into the plain, which the mountains on all sides encompassed. His Persian majesty having sent for the ambassadors, and several of the nobility, in their presence he killed many of the beasts with javelins: he drew his falchion, and at one blow cut several of them in halves. There was one in particular, which, at one stroke, he cleft asunder from the head downwards; for he was a man of great dexterity in arms, and of vast strength of body. Being at last tired with slaughter, he permitted his nobles to take the like amusement; whilst he, in the mean time, held a conversation with the Portuguese ambassador, asking him, whether Emmanuel had any passion for hunting, and after what manner he took that diversion. When he had gone about four miles further he came to a very fine river, where he began to amuse himself with fishing, throwing the nets with his own hands, and offering our people the fish he caught with the utmost civility. In short, by the whole of his behaviour, he endeavoured to gain their affections; nor did this proceed from any artifice or dissimulation, but flowed intirely from the benevolence and humanity of his disposition: for he was by nature
courteous,

courteous, affable, and chearful; and in conversation he always appeared agreeable and facetious.

Ismael soon after decamped again, and moved to a very pleasant place, that was adorned with delightful gardens and orchards; for he was desirous that our people should see the beauty of the country, that they might talk the higher of it at their return to Portugal. Lemos having requested that he might be dismissed, his majesty begged of him that he would go to Tauris, and stay 'till he should come there; for he said he intended to send a deputy with him to Albuquerque. He gave our people a large sum of money, with many valuable presents; and appointed one of his officers to conduct them to Tauris, where they arrived after a journey of ten days. This is a wealthy populous city, adorned with many magnificent buildings, and surrounded with a pleasant fertile country. There are many Armenian Christians who reside here: they frequently visited the Portuguese, and expressed the highest satisfaction at their arrival. The magistrates and chief men of the city treated our people with the greatest respect and civility. The person whom Ismael intended to send to Albuquerque had fallen ill; so that Lemos and the rest of the Portuguese, after having staid here twenty days, were told they might depart. They travelled through a rich and well cultivated country, 'till they came to the opulent city of Caxam: from thence they proceeded, and after fifteen days journey reached Schiras. It was at that time the middle of winter, and the ground was so deep with snow, that several men were obliged to go before and clear the roads. The Portuguese were treated here with the same hospitality and friendship, as they had been at all the other places through which they travelled. When they approached Schiras, they were met by an officer with a squadron of horse, who escorted them to the city. At their entrance here the governor of the place was then absent; but soon after arrived: the arrival of his excellency, as well as that of the Portuguese ambassador,

bassador, gave great joy to the inhabitants, who, for several days, gave themselves up to mirth and festivity.

Whilst Lemos remained at this place the ambassador, whom Ismael ordered to go to Albuquerque with letters for Emmanuel, arrived with several considerable presents: amongst other things he brought five beautiful horses, adorned with the richest furniture; the saddle-cloth being of the most costly silk, and embroidered in the most curious manner. He brought likewise a golden shield, together with many silver and golden vessels. They accordingly proceeded on their journey, and came to Lar, and from thence to Ormu: but before they reached that place Albuquerque was dead, and Lopez Soarez then held the government of India. The letter, which Ismael's ambassador brought for Emmanuel, was to this effect.

To Emmanuel, that great and illustrious monarch,
the ornament of Christian princes, and the support of Portugal, greeting:

' The fame and beauty of thy actions, O illustrious
' prince, may be compared with the sweetness of the
' most lovely roses. I send this epistle to you to let
' you know, that you have my earnest wishes for your
' honour and felicity, no less than if you was my own
' brother. Be it known unto you likewise, that I sent
' one of my household into India, where Albuquerque,
' your great and deservedly honoured general, treated
' him in the most hospitable and friendly manner.
' This I took as a signal proof of friendship and good
' will; and, induced thereby, I have sent Soliman, my
' trusty and beloved servant, to wait on Albuquerque,
' in order to strengthen the amity already begun. It
' is therefore my earnest desire, that we may keep up
' a correspondence by letters; and that we may serve
' each other by mutual offices of love and friendship.
' May the Eternal King of kings guard your royal
' person, grant success to all your laudable under-
' takings,

‘ takings, and shower his blessings on your family.’ In the letter to Albuquerque he bestows the highest encomiums on his bravery, calling him the pillar of generals, the courageous lion of the sea, with other such titles. Moreover he added, ‘ As the sun, when rising, delights my sight, and as fragrant odours are grateful to my nostrils, so do thy exploits affect me with the most ravishing pleasure.’ This was the stile of his epistolary writing, in which he expressed himself in the most warm and friendly manner. He desired that some Portuguese artists might be sent to him, to teach his people the art of casting and polishing cannon. Mirabuca, at the same time, sent a letter to Albuquerque, containing the highest expressions of love, respect, and gratitude.



B O O K XI.

IN the mean while the sultan had prepared a formidable fleet, to drive the Portuguese from their possessions in India. He was spurred on to this enterprise by pique and resentment; for his revenues had been considerably diminished by the Portuguese arms. He was also induced thereto by the great promises of most of the Indian princes, who offered him all the assistance in their power. His fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of ships: on board of which were seven hundred mamalukes, the flower and strength of his army, three hundred janizaries, and about one thousand Arabians from Tunis and Granada. There was likewise a large train of artillery, with a considerable quantity of warlike stores. The command of this fleet was given to a Turk named Solyman, who, after having served a considerable time under the grand seignior, had deserted to the Sultan. The admiral accordingly sailed from Suez for the island of Camaran. In his way thither he lost one galley, but received an addition of three more ships, which had been built by Mirhocem, since the destruction of the fleet at Dio. The sultan had appointed Mirhocem governor of Camaran: here they spent a year in building a fort, and, after this was finished, sailed for Arden, which they intended to storm; for the king of this place, having received several injuries from Mirhocem, had made it capital punishment for any of his subjects to carry provisions to that island. Solyman and Mirhocem besieged the city for a considerable time, and battered down some part of the walls; but met with so warm a reception from the inhabitants, that being obliged to

raise the siege, they returned to the island. Thence they sailed for Jeddo, to take in a supply of provisions: here there happened a dissention betwixt the two commanders; and Mirhocem was cut off by a stratagem of Solyman.

Emmanuel having received notice of the Sultan's preparations, had dispatched an express to Lopez Soarez, ordering him not to wait 'till the enemy should reach India, and join the Indian powers, but sail with all expedition to engage the Sultan's fleet in the Red Sea. Soarez, pursuant to his instructions, sailed from Goa on the 8th of February 1517, with two hundred Portugese, and one thousand Indian soldiers, on board a fleet of forty-three ships. He touched at Socotora, in order to water there: thence he steered for Aden, where he imagined the enemy were then laying. But when he heard they were departed from thence, he sailed into the harbour, and fired some balls into the city. Mirahamiriam was still governor of Aden: by his orders three of the chief inhabitants came out in a suppliant manner to Soarez, with the keys of the city in their hands, earnestly begging to be taken under the protection of Emmanuel, whom they promised to serve with the utmost zeal and loyalty. Soarez, however, would not accept of their submission; for he said it was his express orders not to storm that city, nor even to receive it into his possession, though the citizens should offer to surrender themselves. These positive instructions are often extremely inconvenient, not being adapted to the variety and inconstancy of human affairs: it therefore requires a man of spirit, who will have courage to suit his measures to the present circumstances; for when a commander is of so timorous a disposition as, out of a dread of his prince's resentment, to adhere too scrupulously to his orders, many noble opportunities are often slipped, which is afterwards bitterly lamented. Epaminondas was therefore justly celebrated, who kept his commission two months beyond the time limited by law, in order to destroy

the enemies of the state. By this he was liable to capital punishment, but he chose rather to run this risque, than lose an opportunity of serving his country in so signal a manner. Had Soarez been bold enough to have followed the example of this great man, instead of being punished by his prince, he would certainly have been rewarded and honoured for his greatness of soul. However, that he might not seem to despise the people of Aden's offer, he told them, ' That he intended, as soon as possible, to engage the Sultan's fleet; and therefore could not at present spend time in drawing up articles of peace, lest, in the mean while, the enemy might escape. That he would return in a short time, and then matters might be settled on an amicable footing. What he then required was, that they would give him a supply of provisions, and furnish him with some pilots.' The citizens were transported with joy at this unexpected answer, and immediately sent a large supply of provisions, together with four pilots well acquainted with the red sea.

Soarez having weighed anchor, sent Alvaro de Castro and Diego Pereira before, to see if they could pick up any ship, from which they might receive intelligence where the Sultan's fleet then lay. Pereira accordingly took one vessel, and by those aboard was informed, That the enemy's fleet was then at anchor in the port of Jeddo, or, as the Arabians call it, Gidda. That Solyman designed to attack Aden again; and after having finished the fort at Camaran, intended to sail for India, to fall upon the Portuguese. Soarez, at the entrance of the gulph, met with a most boisterous storm, which had like to have destroyed the whole fleet. Alvaro Castro had taken three vessels. With the goods of these he had so overloaded his own ship, that she, together with the whole crew, perished. The violence of the weather being abated, Soarez proceeded in his course. Before he reached Jeddo, eighteen Venetian Christians (who had been

employed in refitting the enemy's ships, but had deserted together with seven Turks) were brought to him. These men informed him, that Mirhocem had been killed by Solyman, from a suspicion of his having formed a design to poison this man. They said likewise, that the enemy's ships were hauled ashore, that the city was almost in a defenceless condition, being unfortified, and having but a weak garrison. Soarez, as soon as he received this intelligence, made all possible expedition. But another storm arising, retarded his course: at this time one of the ships sunk, and all aboard were lost. At length, however, the fleet reached the mouth of the harbour, but they durst not proceed farther by reason of the great number of shelves. The city of Jeddo is situate in a bay, in the middle of the Arabian coast. The soil is barren and sandy; so that the inhabitants are obliged to have all their water, as well as provisions, imported from other parts. The place was at first peopled on account of religion, it being the port to Mecca (one day's journey from thence) whither great numbers resort to visit the tomb of Mahomet. Besides, by its situation it is very convenient for landing the Indian commodities, which are conveyed from thence on camels to all parts of Egypt. The harbour being full of shelves and banks, is extremely dangerous. The city was so slightly fortified, that it was not able to hold out a siege. The buildings were magnificent, and most of the houses had balconies.

Soarez sent Alphonso Monez, and Dionysio Fernando Melos, to sound the harbour, who at their return brought word, that the channel though narrow would admit the galleys; with this inconvenience, however, that by reason of the turnings and windings of the water, the sides of the ships would be greatly exposed to the cannon of the enemy, who likewise threw a vast number of darts from the city, and from their stations placed for that purpose. A council of war being held, it was resolved first to endeavour to nail up the enemy's

my's cannon, thinking, when this was done, they might attempt the city with less danger. They resolved likewise to set fire to three of Mirhocem's ships, which lay in the harbour. This, they thought, would prove a diversion to the enemy, and enable them to execute their design with greater facility. The ships were accordingly burnt, but the enemy did not remove from their stations and batteries; so that those of our people who went ashore to nail up the cannon, were not able to effect their scheme. Mean while the fleet sustained considerable damage; so that Soarez weighed anchor, and sailed for Camara; for several of our people had been killed in this affair, and those who remained, were sorely afflicted with famine.

When they reached Camaran, they found the island quite desolate, for the inhabitants being alarmed, were fled to the continent. Soarez dispatched two ships to Æthiopia, commanded by Francisco Goa, and Laurencio Cosmez, but they returned without any provisions, so that numbers in the fleet were cut off by famine. Here died Duarte Galuan worn out with age and infirmity: he had been sent embassador from Emmanuel to the king of Æthiopia. Soarez, having demolished the fort which the enemy had built at Camaran, sailed to Zeila. This city is seated on the Arabian coast, a small distance without the mouth of the red sea: it was at that time very populous, and flourished with commerce. The houses were very magnificent and lofty. The inhabitants were composed of various nations; here you might see blacks, whites, and mulattoes. Soarez was driven to this place by necessity to get a supply of provisions. The inhabitants being alarmed, deserted the city; leaving only a garrison of soldiers for its defence. When our people found they could not be relieved for money nor intreaties, they unanimously agreed to storm the city. It was not surrounded by walls, nor fortified with towers and stations. They therefore resolved to land

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their

their forces. Garcia Coutign and John Sylveira commanded the first line, who having first landed, waited for some time drawn up on the shore, till Soarez and the rest of the army should be disembarked. But as Soarez feared not to be so expeditious as the affair required, those who were ashore could not bear the delay. Besides, they were irritated by the insulting language of the enemy, who reproached them with their disgrace at Jeddo, telling them, they might expect to be treated with the same civility as they had been by Solyman. Jasper Sylvio, Ayres Sylvio, and Antonio Ferreira Fogoza, were amongst those who first landed: these were men ready to die to attain glory; they could not brook such insults, but immediately rushed on the enemy, and were followed by the rest of the soldiers. The enemy flocking together from all sides, withstood the shock with vast intrepidity. Our people, however, pushed on by hunger, resentment, and the remembrance of their late defeat at Jeddo, fought with so much fury, that after having killed several of the enemy, they drove the rest to flight. Thus Zeilo being stript of its garrison, was now left a prey to our people. Soarez remained still aboard the fleet. Simon Andrade sent to inform him, that the city being entirely evacuated by the enemy, he might now enter it with safety. Soarez was more offended at the message than Andrade could well imagine, for he thought it was meant as a sarcasm on him, because he had not been present at the engagement, and he abused Andrade with the most bitter language. The city was plundered, and there was found great plenty of provisions, part of which they put aboard the fleet, and the rest was destroyed in the flames of the city, which they set on fire. In this place they found a Portuguese one of the rowers of George Quadra's pinnace, which had been separated from Duarte Lemo's fleet. This man having been taken by the enemy near the shore, had been kept in fetters ever since his captivity.

Soarez

Soarez now sailed for Aden, where he expected to be well received, and to get a farther supply of provisions, for he had suffered most of those at Zeila to be burnt, from the confidence he had of being furnished with all necessaries at Aden. But he now found by sad experience, what his own sagacity ought to have taught him, that we ought not to let slip a present advantage for the hopes of a future, especially when it depends on the faith of another person; for Mirahamirian had conceived an utter aversion to Soarez for his having refused the keys of the city: besides, when he heard he had done nothing memorable in his voyage, that his fleet was diminished, and great part of his army cut off, he peremptorily refused to supply our people with provisions, and only allowed them to have a little water, which they bought at an exorbitant price. Soarez was therefore obliged to put back to the Æthiopian coast, in order to victual his ships at Baffora, a city about eighty miles from Zeila. Hence he sailed for Ormus, where he arrived after an expedition, in which, so far from acquiring glory, that he drew on himself shame and ignominy. He had neglected an opportunity of bringing Aden under the Portuguese power. He had not destroyed the Sultan's fleet, and had met with a shameful repulse at Jeddo. Many of the ships were lost, and those which remained extremely torn and shattered. Great numbers of the men cut off by the sword, famine, and shipwreck, and such as had escaped these calamities in a most wretched condition. Before Soarez reached Ormus, he dispatched Alexo Monez to get ready the fleet for Portugal. He likewise sent Lopez Villalupia, in a pinnace, as an express to Emmanuel, with the particulars of the late unfortunate expedition. Pedro Vasco Vera, a man of great skill in sea affairs, was master of the pinnace. His arrival gave the greatest surprize to the people in Portugal; for they were amazed that so small a vessel should have made its way over such immense tempe-

stuous seas, which the largest and best rigged ships could not perform without great difficulty and danger.

Soarez, after having settled some affairs at Ormus, proceeded for India; here he found Antony Saldagna with five ships, sent from Portugal to cruize in the Arabian sea; who likewise brought with him Fernando Alcafova, whom Emmanuel had appointed farmer-general of his revenues in India. Soarez, in his voyage thither, suffered various misfortunes, and his fleet was scattered. Some of the ships were driven to Melinda, others were obliged to put in at Mozambique. One of the commanders was forced back with his ship into the red sea, where he took shelter in one of the ports on the Æthiopian coast. Here he was murdered on some pretended affront by Jerom Oliveria, who was likewise assisted by Menendez Alphonso, a bold desperate fellow. His death was revenged by John Roderigo Pelagio, a gentleman of great bravery aboard the same ship, who immediately killed Alphonso; but as Oliveria was a man of nobility and reputation, Pelagio saved his life, and having put him in irons, reserved him to take his tryal before the governor.

Soarez, as we have mentioned above, had entered into a treaty of peace with the queen of Coulan, and being extremely desirous of building a fort in that city, before he sailed to Arabia, had sent Hector Roderigo to Coulan, to represent to the queen, That it was absolutely necessary that the Portuguese should have a strong house to defend them from the insults of the Arabians, otherwise they were liable to the fate which Antonio Sala had undergone. This the queen very readily granted. But Roderigo, though he pretended to be building a house, yet in reality was laying the foundation of a fort. The Arabians perceiving this, endeavoured to stir up the citizens, telling them, that the Portuguese were building a fort to overawe them. ‘ They want (said they) to throw a yoke on your necks, which, if you allow them once to fix, you will never afterwards be able to shake off.

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‘ Check this evil therefore at the beginning ; nip it
‘ in the bud, lest, if it is suffered to gain strength, it
‘ may prove too strong against all your attempts.
‘ The artifices of the Portuguese are well known,
‘ who whilst they court your friendship and alliance,
‘ aim at being your masters ; who, under the pretext
‘ of building houses erect forts ; who, when they have
‘ to do with a simple unguarded people, first rob
‘ them of their liberty, and afterwards strip them of
‘ every valuable possession.’ With these and such
like speeches the Arabians endeavoured to enflame the
people of Coulan ; nor did they fail to importune the
queen herself. But her majesty knowing the Portu-
guese to be equally keen in their enmity and friend-
ship, chose rather by her fidelity to engage them
as friends, than provoke them as enemies. This re-
solution was further confirmed, when she called to mind
what the zamorin had suffered for his perfidy and in-
constancy to our people, whilst, on the other hand,
the king of Cochin had become great and considera-
ble by his zeal and fidelity to the Portuguese. She
could not therefore be prevailed on to depart from
her faith ; so that the work went on with great for-
wardness. Mean while the queen, together with her
son, left the city, in order to carry on a war, in
which they were engaged with the king of Travancor,
a neighbouring prince. The Arabians now were ex-
tremely assiduous to stir up the citizens against our
people, thinking to raise a tumult, by which the work
might be obstructed. Hector Roderigo behaved at
this juncture with the most singular prudence. He took
care that his men, though provoked by the most in-
sulting language, should not return the least harsh
expression, but bear all with the utmost calmness :
nor would he allow any of them to walk into the
city. Besides he himself kept up such an intimacy
with the principal persons of Coulan, that they, as
ordered by the queen, gave him all the assistance in
their power. In a little time the queen, having put
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end to the war, returned into the city. Her presence prevented all commotions, and the fort was finished without any farther molestation.

Whilst Soarez was on his Arabian expedition, Gutiere Monroy, governor of Goa, pursuant to his instructions, had dispatched two galleys to the Maldivé islands, to intercept the ships from Arabia. One was commanded by his brother Fernando Monroy, and the other by John Gundiffalvo de Albicastro. They took two vessels, richly laded, belonging to Cojequo, a man of vast wealth.

Some time after, Fernando being again sent out by his brother with five ships, to cruize on the coast of Chaul, took an Arabian vessel at the mouth of the river Mais. Near this place there is a fortified town, the governor of which immediately fitted out ten ships of war, to attack Monroy. An engagement accordingly ensued, which was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides; but neither could boast of victory. The enemy, after having received considerable damage, did indeed sheer off, but the Portuguese had likewise suffered so much, that they did not think proper to pursue them. Monroy then proceeded for Chaul. There was at this time one Alvaro Madureira a Portuguese, who had a wife and family at Goa; but through fear of punishment (for he had killed one of his countrymen) had fled to the continent, and resided amongst the Arabians. This man came to see Monroy, who received him in a friendly manner, and undertook to procure his pardon, if he would go back to Goa. Alvaro returned thanks for this kindly offer; and having complained of his indigent circumstances, the admiral made a collection for him, which amounted to two hundred ducats. He then pretended that he wanted to go ashore, to buy some cloaths: but in reality this was all a sham, in order to carry on his treacherous designs. Monroy, a little way beyond the mouth of the river on which Chaul is seated, fell in with fifteen ships fitted out by Melichiaz. With these

these he had a smart engagement. But after having taken one of them, all the crew of which jumped over-board, the rest of the enemy being frightened, made off with all possible hurry. Madureira, by way of requital for the kindness of our people, went to Mirhal, Zabaim Idalcam's general, and advised him to fall on Monroy; telling him, that his fleet being so small, might be easily defeated. Seven ships were accordingly fitted out for this purpose, which attacked Monroy, who gave them so warm a reception, that he soon obliged them to sheer off. But the enemy, by the assistance of their oars, made away with so much expedition, that not one of their ships was taken.

About this time, the affairs at Goa were in great danger, and the Portuguese had like to have lost that island, the particulars and occasion of which, we shall here recite. There was one Fernando Caldeira, who had been educated in the family of Albuquerque, and had married at Goa. He had been represented at the Portuguese court as a pirate, who committed outrages against friends and enemies indiscriminately. Being charged with this crime, he was sent to Portugal by Emmanuel's orders. When he arrived there, he made so good a defence, that he was acquitted by his majesty, and sent back to India with honour. He returned in Soarez's fleet, and was aboard the ship commanded by Guiterre Monroy, with whom, during the voyage, he had so violent a quarrel, that he left the fleet at Mozambique, and having gone aboard another vessel; sailed in all haste to Goa. He had discovered that Guiterre, when formerly at Goa, had cast a sweet eye on his wife; and that he had made use of Henrico Tauro as a tool to bring about his lustful purpose. Caldeira at his arrival attacked Tauro, wounded him in the face, and cut off one of his legs. Being now destitute of his patron Albuquerque, and dreading the resentment of Guiterre, who, he knew, was appointed governor of Goa, he thought he could
not

not live here in safety, and therefore fled to Ponda, about eight miles distant, whither he removed his wife and all his effects. Ancoftam, one of Zabaim Idalcam's generals, governor of this place, received him very kindly, and assured him of his protection. Monroy, when he reached Goa, having heard of Caldeira's departure, was at once fired by love and resentment. He sent several messengers to Ancoftam, demanding him to deliver up this infamous deserter. But Ancoftam, knowing Caldeira to be a brave and able person who might be extremely serviceable, and at the same time thinking it scandalous to deliver up a man, who had come under his protection, to the cruelty of his enemies, he therefore positively refused to comp'y with this demand. But Monroy was resolved, at any rate to have Caldeira dispatched. He accordingly, by large promises, prevailed on John Gomez a desperate and abandoned fellow, to undertake the affair.

This man went to Ponda, and pretending to be a deserter, who had suffered greatly by the cruelty and injustice of Monroy, he begged to be taken under the protection of Ancoftam, who treated him very kindly, as likewise did Caldeira. Ancoftam one day by way of recreation went to take a ride in the fields, being accompanied with Caldeira and Gomez. This villain thought that now a fair opportunity offered for executing his bloody design: he accordingly took Caldeira aside, under pretence of communicating something to him in private, and having stabbed him with a poignard, he clapped spurs to his horse and rode off full gallop. Ancoftam was moved with indignation, that such a horrid deed should have been perpetrated before his eyes, and on a man who was under his protection. He therefore dispatched some of his attendants in pursuit of the murderer, who was overtaken, and brought back. Ancoftam was desirous to take immediate vengeance with his own hand, and accordingly

accordingly drew his sword, and cut off the head of Gomez.

Monroy became now no less enraged against Ancoftam than he had been against Caldeira. He therefore resolved to take him off by some treacherous artifice. He gave out that he was to exhibit publick sports on a certain day; under this pretence he ordered some troops to march to Benaffar, where they went through their exercifes, and performed a mock engagement. As soon as it was dark, he ordered the officers to proceed to Ponda, to kill Ancoftam. They remonstrated against the cruelty and injustice of this design; but Monroy having told them, that this was to be done in purfuance to the orders of Emmanuel, they then resolved to obey. They accordingly paffed the river in flat boas, and having taken off the furniture of their horfes, made them fwim over. Guiterre gave the command of the cavalry to Fernando Monroy, and the foot to John Machiad: the latter having got first over the river, feized two men, by whom he received intelligence, that Ancoftam was then in the town, not dreaming of the leaft danger. He therefore entreated Fernando to allow him to march immediately in the filence of the night, to furprize Ancoftam. Fernando, however, would by no means agree to this, and the greateft part of the night was fpent in wrangling; fo that the affair was not executed with the expedition that was neceffary: at the fame time the inhabitants were alarmed by the neighing of the horfes, and Ancoftam being apprized of their arrival, immediately paffed over a bridge on the river, and drew up his forces on the oppofite fide. When Fernando Monroy reached Ponda, it was broad daylight, and the town was deserted by its inhabitants; fo that after a deal of fatigue, finding his fcheme frustrated, he was willing to return back, and perfuaded Machiad to the fame refolution. Ancoftam, encouraged by this retreat, repaffed the bridge, and having fet upon Monroy, killed feveral of his fquadron, and drove

drove the rest to flight. The cavalry flying, put the foot into the greatest disorder; so that they all retreated in the utmost confusion. Ancoftam sent before a detachment of his men, to take possession of a defile through which the Portuguese must pass; here there ensued a severe conflict, which at last ended in a complete victory to Ancoftam. Many of our people were taken prisoners, and many more killed. Mahad fell in this action, after having fought very bravely.

Ancoftam immediately sent an express to Zabain Idalcam, with the news of this victory, telling him at the same time, ‘ That if he would exert himself, he might easily become master of Goa. That the Portuguese had broke through the treaty, and deserved to be punished for their perfidy : That there was only need of an army to appear before Goa, which being stripped of its garrison, and the inhabitants struck with a panic at the late defeat, it might be carried at the first assault.’ Idalcam accordingly dispatched Zufalarim, with a considerable army to the island; he made great havock and devastation, and reduced the city to the utmost extremity, which would certainly have been taken, had it not been for the seasonable and unexpected arrival of John Sylveira, who had wintered at Quiloa. Soon after Raphael Perestrello arrived likewise from China, with vast wealth. He was a man of great courage, and extraordinary liberality, which made him universally beloved. He brought with him three ships. There were aboard a considerable number of soldiers, who were ready to follow him any where, with the utmost cheerfulness.

Thus it happened, by the lust and rashness of one man, that the Portuguese establishment at Goa, procured by so much labour, and already defended by so many brave men, was reduced to the very brink of destruction, but happily saved by a miraculous interposition of providence. Zabain now finding all
hopes

hopes of taking the city to be vanished, again made offers of peace to Guiterre, which was accordingly very readily accepted. The treaty was renewed, and the same articles were again drawn up, and sealed with the usual form.

This year queen Mary lay dangerously ill: she had never recovered her health since the birth of her last son. It was the opinion of the physicians, that she had an ulcer in her bowels. The distemper wasted her away by degrees, and she died on the 7th of March 1517, in the thirty-fifth year of her age. She left behind her eight sons, whom we have already mentioned. She was a lady adorned with many noble virtues: the utmost strictness in her life and morals, easy and affable in her behaviour, and agreeably modest in her conversation. She herself had the utmost aversion to idleness; nor would she allow any of the ladies at court to give themselves up to sloth and indolence. She worked many things with her own hands, endeavouring by example, more than words, to stir up the rest of her sex to the like industrious disposition. She never intermeddled in public affairs, looking upon this to be unbecoming a woman, whose greatest ornament, she thought, consisted in a meek and modest deportment. She had the highest veneration for the king, nor ever once attempted to make him swerve from his duty by any impertinent solicitation. She brought up her sons with the utmost tenderness, though not with too much indulgence; never allowing them, even in their most childish diversions, to do any thing that was contrary to the rules of strict decorum: and if she observed them guilty of any action that had the least tendency to vice or immorality, she never suffered it to escape with impunity. She was a lady of the most extensive charity, taking the greatest pleasure in relieving the needy and indigent. She shewed a maternal affection, and royal liberality, in educating young girls, whom she took care to provide with honourable husbands. She was no less eminent for her
piety

piety and zeal for religion : this she not only displayed by the sanctity of her manners, but by many acts of munificence, in building several churches and religious houses, which were furnished with the most magnificent ornaments. It was therefore not without reason, that the death of such a queen was so greatly lamented throughout all Portugal. The king himself was most deeply affected ; but in a short time he threw off all appearance of grief : this, however, did not proceed from a forgetfulness of her memory, but from a regard to his people, and piety to God, that he might transact the affairs of his kingdom, and set before his subjects an example of patience and resignation.

This year Selim, the grand seignior, gained a complete victory over Campson, the sultan of Egypt : by this means he added all Syria and Egypt to his dominions. Whilst this inveterate enemy of the Christian name was thus aggrandizing himself, the powers in Christendom were weakening themselves by continual feuds and animosities. This gave no little uneasiness to Emmanuel : he therefore sent Michael Sylvio ambassador to the pope, earnestly to intreat him, That, laying aside all other cares, he would endeavour to bring about peace and concord amongst the Christian princes, that, with united minds and strength, they might levy war against their common enemy, and check his growing power. Emmanuel offered all his strength and wealth to carry on this enterprize, saying, at the same time, that nothing appeared to him more honourable than to risque his life in so glorious a cause. But the pope's thoughts were wholly engrossed with other affairs, so that he did not give ear to this request : and, indeed, the Christian princes were at this time arrived at such a pitch of madness, that, though his holiness had used his utmost efforts, it is very probable all his endeavours would have proved ineffectual.

On the coast of that part of Africa called Biledulgerid, in the province of Sus, near the river Sus, there is the extremity of a promontory, which the inhabitants

habitants call Aguer, or Gere: ancient writers call it the promontory of Hercules. Here Emmanuel had built a town, which was defended with a fort and a strong garrison of soldiers. The Portuguese, from hence, used to harass the Moors by frequent incursions. The governor of the place happened this year to depart for Portugal: Xerif, taking advantage of his absence, invaded the territories of the Moors who were tributary to Emmanuel, laid waste their lands, burnt their corn, and did many of them other considerable damage. Zaide Boagaze, a prince of the same country, who was in the Portuguese interest, went out to meet him with a body of men. A battle ensued, in which many were killed on both sides; but neither of them could claim the victory. Xerif, being enraged that he had not come off victorious, sent for his brother, who accordingly came with a large reinforcement. The two brothers then, with joint forces, attacked Boagaze; whom, after a severe conflict, they totally routed: they likewise sacked the town of Tuil, belonging to him, and committed great depredations in his territories.

Emmanuel was at this time extremely desirous of getting into his possession the city of Targa, in the kingdom of Fez, about forty miles from Ceuta, that he might strengthen it with a garrison, which would facilitate his designs against the city of Fez. In the month of July he accordingly sent Diego Lopez Sequeira, with a fleet of sixty sail, to the streights of Gibraltar. He ordered him to take fifty horse aboard at Arzila, and as many at Tangier: thence he was to proceed to Ceuta, to act in concert with Pedro Monez, with whom he was to invest Targa. Monez was not a little offended at this; for he was a man of an ambitious soul, and, in case the expedition should prove successful, did not chuse to have a colleague to share the glory: however, that he might not seem to disobey the king's orders, he drew out his forces, and marched to Targa with Sequeira; but the two generals not

agreeing, they returned without accomplishing their design. Sequeira, having dismissed the troops which he had brought from Tangier and Arzila, held a conference with John Coutign, governor of the last place; telling him, that it made him extremely uneasy to think, that having sailed from Portugal with so numerous a fleet, with such a considerable army on board, from which people had the highest expectations, yet he had done nothing: he therefore earnestly intreated Coutign to lead him to some place, where he might atchieve somewhat, that would procure him reputation at his return to Portugal. Coutign was prevailed upon, and they accordingly marched with a considerable force into a country belonging to the enemy, where they destroyed several villages, took many prisoners, and drove off some cattle; but meeting with no army to oppose them, they again returned to Arzila. A few days after Sequeira, extremely out of humour, embarked his forces for Portugal.

Soon after Duarte Monez and John Coutign, with joint forces, invaded the lands adjoining to Alcazarquivir, where they made great depredations, killed several of the Moors, and got a considerable booty. The governor of that place came out to oppose them with a body of men. Our people, lest they should be too much encumbered with the plunder, left a large part of it, and proceeded with the remainder: the enemy followed them closely, but declined coming to action; so that the Portuguese got off safe with their booty.

Nor in the mean while did Pedro Mascaregn, governor of Saffia, remain inactive; for having received intelligence, that the Moors of Ganema had revolted, he attacked them unawares; and having killed several, he reduced the rest under subjection. He was likewise informed by a Moor, whose brother was his prisoner, that the tribes of Dabida had formed a design to make a general defection, and to live at large on the other tributaries. For this discovery he thanked the Moor,

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and set his brother at liberty; and immediately dispatched his brother Pedro and Francisco Carnero with three hundred cavalry, and a proportionable number of foot, to attack the rebels. They accordingly set out in the evening, and marched that night twenty-four miles. Next morning they came to an engagement, in which, after having partly killed the enemy, and partly driven them to flight, they gained a complete victory, and returned with a considerable booty and many prisoners. At this time a report prevailed, that the king of Fez was levying a formidable army, with which he intended to march to Saffia, to invest that place with the utmost vigour. King Emmanuel being informed of this by Mascaregn, sent a large reinforcement of his choicest troops. Amongst these was Gundisalvo Mendez Zacot, a gentleman of the most distinguished bravery, whose presence gave the highest satisfaction to Mascaregn, as well as to the whole Portuguese soldiery. But the king of Fez, either embarrassed by other cares, or deterred by the supplies lately arrived at Saffia, dropt this resolution.

Whilst these things were transacted in Africa, Fernando Pedro Andrade, who, as have mentioned above, having sailed for China, was driven back to Malacca by contrary winds. At his arrival he found the city distracted, by a contention betwixt two of the Portuguese officers. George Britto^d had been seized with a distemper, which carried him off. After his decease there was a high dispute betwixt Nonez Vasco Pereira and Antonio Pacheco, who both laid claim to the government. The former said, that this trust had been committed to him by Britto, when dying, before several witnesses; and that he could not, without the highest dishonour, give up his right to another. Pacheco, on the other hand, alledged, that it had been settled as a standing rule by Albuquerque, that, in case the governor should die, his post should devolve on him who had the care of naval affairs (which office Pacheco then enjoyed); and on this score he founded his pretensions,

and claimed the government of Malacca. Andrade exerted his utmost efforts, but in vain, to adjust the dispute. This I thought proper to recite, that from thence it may appear that the Portuguese empire in the East seemed to be preserved by the immediate favour of heaven. Intestine broils and dissensions amongst the great men of a state, have often proved fatal to, and overthrown, the most powerful and ancient kingdoms as well as commonwealths. To what cause, then shall we ascribe it, but to the Divine Aid, that colonies so remote from their mother-country, surrounded by enemies, and defended by so small a number of them, and these too not devoted to the public service, but hurried on by the dictates of ambition: to what, I say, can we impute it, but to the particular goodness of the Deity, that, amidst all these dangers, they were preserved in safety?

In the month of June 1517, Andrade sailed again from Malacca. On the 15th of August he reached Tamanlabua, an island belonging to China, about four leagues from the continent. At that time the sea thereabouts used to be infested with pirates: for this reason the emperor of China had sent out a large fleet to cruise there, for the protection of the merchant-ships. The admiral was not a little surprized at the unusual form of the Portuguese ships, and, taking them for pirates, prepared for an engagement: but Andrade, having given no signal of any hostile intention, proceeded without obstruction to the island of Tama, where he came to an anchor with his fleet. The Chinese admiral sent to enquire who our people were, whence they had come, and on what account they sailed into these parts. Andrade made answer, ' That he was a Portuguese, the subject of a most illustrious prince in the Western regions: that his royal master having heard of the wealth, power, and renown of the emperor of China, was desirous of entering into a friendship and treaty with so great a monarch, which might tend to their mutual advantage.'

‘tage.’ He said likewise, ‘That he wanted pilots to steer the fleet for the port of Canton, that the Portuguese envoy might proceed from thence to the metropolis where the emperor resided, to deliver the letters and instructions from his Portuguese majesty.’ The Chinese admiral said, that he would go directly to Nanto, a city about sixty miles from Canto, in order to inform the governor of the arrival of our people. Andrade waited his return for several days; but growing impatient, he set sail with two of his ships and some long-boats, and came to anchor in that port. The harbour of Nanto is surrounded with a magnificent pier, built of square stones, to the top of which there is an ascent by a flight of steps. There is an island near the entrance, fortified with a large tower: here the grandees entertain strangers with great magnificence. The governor of the city, who is called Tutang, invited Andrade to an entertainment in this place; but, on a pretence of being indisposed, he excused himself from partaking of their cheer, lest he should have been obliged to eat to excess, of food to which he was unaccustomed. He held a conversation with the Tutang, and several of the mandarins, to whom he communicated the particulars of his instructions; and having trusted to their care the Portuguese ambassador, who was to be conducted to the emperor, he returned to Tama, where he remained fourteen months: for he had been ordered to examine the situation of the country, and to inform himself in every particular relating to the manners and customs of the inhabitants. In the mean while great numbers of merchants resorted hither from different countries, importing various commodities, but especially gold. With these Andrade conversed frequently, and asked many questions, and received the highest satisfaction from their information. He likewise sent George Mascaregn, with some of the Chinese pilots, to sail along the coast, that he might bring an account of what he had seen, and heard by report. Mascaregn being at

length recalled, (the season for sailing being now at hand) Andrade, before his departure, gave public notice in the city by a crier, That the Chinese should let him know if any of his men were in their debt, or had been guilty of any fraud or injustice; for he declared, that he would not sail 'till they had received satisfaction. This proceeding of Andrade was extremely grateful to the Chinese; not that they could make any complaint of our people, but because it gave them the highest idea of the equity and justice of the Portuguese nation. And if all the Portuguese, who went afterwards to this country, had acted with the same candour, our strength might have been much greater in these parts; for the power and interest of a people is not to be increased so much by force of arms, as by the fame of their honour and justice.

China is a most large and extensive empire. On the East and South it is washed by the ocean: on the West it is bounded by the Indian territories; and on the North by a ridge of high mountains, perpetually covered with snow and ice: here they are likewise bordered on by the Scythians, or Tartars, with whom they waged continual war. They are, however, pretty well defended from their inroads by the mountains, and by a prodigious strong and extensive wall. The Tartars excelling in strength of body, and warlike prowess, by this means have frequently defeated the Chinese; who, in their turn, have as often got the better by their superiority in art and stratagem. The country is extremely fertile, not only abounding with all the necessaries of life, but also with every thing which elegance or luxury can demand. Those in the southern parts of China are of a black colour; but the northern inhabitants are fair in their complexion. The people in general live very elegantly, and feast sumptuously. They wear silk, cotton, or woollen cloaths, varying their dress as the season of the year requires. In winter those in the coldest parts of the country line their cloaths with the skins of various animals. They often

often ride, and their horses are covered with the richest furniture. Their way of living, in several respects, resembles that of the French and Germans. They frequently give themselves up to mirth and jollity; and when in this humour, take their cups very freely. They are a people extremely addicted to venery. Their women are seldom to be seen in public places; and are carried through the streets in close sedans, covered with the richest embroidered silks. They take vast delight in musick, both vocal and instrumental; and often relax themselves with entertainments of this nature. They have great faith in astrology and prediction; and such persons as pretend to understand these dark arts, are held in the highest veneration. They apply themselves much to the study of mathematicks and astronomy. Their histories, or any other performances which they have a mind to transmit to posterity, are cast off from plates of brass: this is an art which has been of such long standing amongst them, that the name of the inventor is buried in oblivion. Their houses are extremely beautiful, being built with no less taste than grandeur. Their temples are large and magnificent, being adorned with variety of paintings and images. Although they worship many idols, yet they believe in one God as the creator of all things, to whom they offer up their prayers and supplications. They have an image of a woman called Mamma, whom they account to be an advocate with God for mankind; and, for that reason, pay divine honours to this idol. They have likewise the image of a virgin, who, as they say, was an emperor's daughter; and, when on earth, laid aside all wordly affairs, that she might devote herself to the study of religion: her they account to be a deity, who is the guardian and patroness of the Chinese nation. They have also a third idol, which they hold in high esteem: this is the image of a man, who, while he lived in this world, was conspicuous for his bravery, as well as many other virtues, and performed several miraculous ex-

ploits. In particular, that he once in armour swam over a very broad river to assist his countrymen, when almost overpowered by the enemy. They believe this man was deified on account of his extraordinary merit, and accordingly pay him divine honours. They have likewise many more idols and pagods, which they worship on stated days. There are amongst the Chinese several houses set apart for religious men, who, retiring from the world, give themselves up to the study of religion. There are likewise places of the same nature for the women.

The Chinese are excellent mechanicks, and fine painters. They give themselves very much to literature, and those who make the greatest proficiency are highly honoured. The men of learning amongst them study a certain ancient language, with which the vulgar is unacquainted, as we Europeans learn the Greek and Roman languages. The law is accounted to be the most honourable profession. They have the greatest veneration for their sovereign, whom they almost worship as a deity: he very seldom shews himself to his subjects. The people are divided into three classes: in the first, which is the most honourable, are included those who have studied and are acquainted with the laws and institutions of their country. The second rank of honour is assigned to the military gentlemen; and the third comprehends all artists and mechanicks. It is usual for every one, of whatever art or profession, to undergo examination by those of skill and knowledge. There are several degrees of these trials; and if a person has a mind to aspire to the highest dignity, he must go through them all gradually, 'till at last he undergoes the strictest examination by the most eminent and learned men. If a person has met with approbation, after all these trials, then he is admitted to the greatest honours in the state. They are extremely rigorous in punishing crimes. They allow none, not even the blind, to go a-begging; for these earn their living by working handmills. They don't chuse to
admit

admit foreigners into their cities, lest, by this means, their own manners and customs might be corrupted. They are not a little fond of comic entertainments; and so much are they given to lechery and lewdness, that they have contrived the most obscene postures. They are said to believe in dæmons and spirits, whom they pretend to consult. This much may suffice concerning the manners and customs of the Chinese.

Andrade behaved to them with so much politeness and complaisance, that from hence they conceived the highest idea of the honour, friendship, and prudence of the Portuguese nation. At his return to Malacca he found Alexo Monez, whom Soarez had sent, invested with full power to put an end to the dispute, and to settle the affairs of Malacca. He likewise received the care of the fleet from Andrade, who immediately sailed to hither India, and from thence returned to Portugal. He gave Emmanuel a particular account of the customs of the Chinese, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their civility and ingenuity, and shewed him several of their paintings and figures. His Portuguese majesty flattered himself with the agreeable thoughts, that he should be able to propagate the Christian religion amongst this people: but a few years after all his hopes were blasted, by the madness of Simon Andrade, a man of bravery, though rash to the last degree, and greatly inferior to his brother in humanity and prudence. For having sailed with a fleet to China, after he had built a fort there, and, as he thought, secured the Portuguese power, he then began to play the tyrant, and to act in the most arbitrary manner. He made plunder of what he pleased: he offered violence to several women of distinction, and committed so many outrages, that the Chinese, being exasperated, fell on the Portuguese, killed many of them, and took several prisoners: Andrade, however, escaped with all his effects. The report of Andrade's behaviour having reached the emperor of China, he dismissed the ambassador; who, when
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he came to Canton, was thrown into gaol by the citizens, where he died in a miserable manner. Thus it often happens, that what is done by wisdom and prudence, is undone by rashness. These things we thought proper to recite concerning the Chinese, that we may not have occasion afterwards to interrupt our history.

But to return to the affairs of India. The prince of the Maldives, and the king of Bengal, having received several injuries from the Portuguese after the death of Albuquerque, had, for that reason, thrown off their allegiance to Emmanuel. Soarez sent John Sylveire with four ships, to try to regain the affections of these princes. He touched first at the Maldivè islands, the king of which was prevailed on to renew the treaty of friendship. He sailed next for Cambaya, where he had the same success. In his return from this coast he came to anchor at Cochin, where he remained for some time, to take in a supply of provision. Thence he proceeded for Bengal, a large and extensive country, watered by the Ganges. This is a very deep and broad river, which divides hither from farther India, and runs into the bay of Bengal at two different mouths, three hundred miles distant from each other. The water of this river is extremely wholesome; and is thought by the people thereabouts to have so much virtue, that it not only expels distempers of the body, but also purifies their minds, when tainted with guilt and wickedness: for this reason they bathe themselves in it frequently. The soil of the country is very rich and fertile. The natives are black, though at the same time well shaped, and of a graceful appearance. They live sumptuously, and dress with elegance. They are very much addicted to venery and gluttony, as well as many other vices. They are a people altogether void of faith and honour, piquing themselves on their superiority in artifice and deceit. They are mostly Pagans in their religion, though at the same time there are several Mahometans amongst them.

Sylveire,

Sylveire, having come into the port of Chatingam, sent the governor notice of his arrival, who seemed to make our people extremely welcome, sending Sylveire several presents, and making the most friendly protestations. But all this was the highest dissimulation; for an engagement soon after ensued betwixt our people and those of Bengal: in this the latter were defeated, and obliged to give hostages. The governor then behaved with the utmost shew of civility; and so far won the affections of Sylveire, that he delivered up the hostages: but this dissembler no sooner received them than he had recourse to his usual artifice. However, being again worsted, he became extremely submissive, and once more sued for peace. Soon after Sylveire received a letter from the governor of Daraca, inviting him to bring his fleet into that port. This man, in his letter, exclaimed against the governor of Chatingam as a perfidious villain; adding, that he would certainly be punished by the king for his behaviour. He likewise sent several presents to the Portuguese commander, in order to induce him to accept of the invitation. This was all a contrivance of the governor of Chatingam, to draw our people into an ambush. Sylveire, however, without the least suspicion of fraud, sailed for Daraca: as soon as he entered the river, the king having received intelligence thereof, immediately sent out a numerous fleet, which had like to have demolished the Portuguese; but, at last, fraud was overcome by bravery. Sylveire, after having defeated the enemy, steered his course to the island of Ceilon, with his ships shattered most terribly, and the number lessened; for John Fidalgo, who commanded one of them, had left him most shamefully.

About this time Antonio Saldagna, who had been cruising in the Arabian sea with a considerable fleet, returned to India (for the winter now approached); but had done nothing memorable.

Emmanuel Lacerda, who had been sent to Dio, was received by Melichiar in the most honourable manner, with

with whom he confirmed the treaty of friendship. Alexo Monez, as we said above, sailed to Malacca with three hundred Portuguese. At his arrival there, pursuant to his instructions from Emmanuel, he gave the command of the fort to Alphonso Lopez Costa, and placed Duarte Melos over the naval affairs. He likewise set at liberty Antonio Pacheco, who, during the late dissention, had been put under confinement by Nonez Pereira. Malacca was at this time involved in a tedious war. The king of Bantam had fixed on a station on the river Muar, which he had fortified with a battery and a strong garrison, designing to attack the Portuguese both by sea and land. Monez sent Alphonso Lopez Costa with three hundred Portuguese, three thousand Malaccans, and many persons of distinction, in order, if possible, to destroy this work. When Alphonso approached the place, it was then low water; so that the ships could not sail up the river 'till the tide flowed. In the mean while, our people and the enemy plied each other with their cannon at a distance, and many fell on both sides. As the tide came in apace, they came nearer to one another, and the fight by degrees became more close and warm. The Portuguese were likely that day to have come off with great honour, had it not been owing to a quarrel betwixt Alphonso and George Mascaregn; which rose to such a height, that they desisted from this enterprize, and returned to Malacca, without accomplishing their design.

The king of Bantam, finding he could not gain his ends by open force, had recourse to fraud. He pretended to be desirous of coming to an accommodation, and accordingly sued for peace from Alexo, who, being at that time greatly pinched for want of provisions, granted it very readily. The king now, by all his behaviour, endeavoured to give our people the highest opinion of his sincerity and friendship. The Portuguese, on the other hand, strove to requite him by all the friendly offices in their power; so that there

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was a mutual emulation in friendship and civility. When the king, by this shew of complaisance, had rendered our people void of suspicion and unguarded, he suddenly sent out seventy ships (which he had fitted out privately) to attack the fort by sea; and, at the same time, sent two thousand men by land to fall upon the Portuguese unawares. The fleet having accordingly sailed to the island adjoining to the city, they fell upon our people when asleep, killed many of them, and attempted to burn the Portuguese ships. It happened to be very rainy and tempestuous weather, so that the ships, being wet, did not catch fire. The shouts and noise alarmed our people: Alexo, being roused, sent some of his officers to the island, where an engagement ensued, which lasted 'till mid-day, when the enemy were repulsed. At the same time those who had come ashore, together with many of the faithless citizens, had attacked the fort with great vigour. The king sent several supplies, together with some elephants; and the affair was carried on with equal warmth by the besieged, as well as the assailants. But at the return of our people from the island, the enemy, then remitting somewhat of their fury, began to give ground, and were at last driven to flight. Many of them were killed on the spot, and several taken prisoners. Nevertheless the king resolved to besiege the fort with a more numerous army: he accordingly stormed it for seven days successively. The Portuguese were at the same time sorely afflicted with famine; yet, notwithstanding all their difficulties, they made several sallies on the besiegers, and did them considerable damage. Monez at last fell on an expedient, by which he destroyed the enemy's station at Muar with no great difficulty.

There was a nobleman of Java, a person of great wealth and power, who sailed for Malacca, where he designed to settle with his wife and family, and all his effects. But when he came upon that coast, he was taken by some of the king of Bantam's officers, and brought

brought before that prince, who received him very kindly, and at last prevailed on him to prefer Bantam to Malacca for his residence. The king treated him afterwards with the highest marks of friendship; but it appeared by many particulars, that all this civility proceeded from a passion he had conceived for the Javan's wife, who was a woman of extraordinary beauty. In order to carry on his intrigue he sent the husband to sea with a command of ships, who, being a man of great courage, behaved extremely well, and did our people considerable damage. But the Javan having afterwards discovered the lust of the king, as well as his perfidy in many respects, deserted to the Portuguese. Monez received him with the highest respect, and communicated to him his desire of attacking the enemy's station at Muar. This man undertook the affair; and having set out with one hundred and twenty Portuguese and a few Malaccans, some of whom were conveyed by sea, and others marched by land, he fell on the enemy unawares, broke into their fortifications, and quickly got possession of this bulwark. The Javan had the misfortune to be killed by a cannon-shot, and some of the Portuguese likewise fell in this affair. Emmanuel Falcon, who marched the forces by land, had his leg broke. Our people, however, destroyed many of the enemy, and remained masters of the station. They carried off from thence above seventy pieces of cannon to their fort at Malacca.

By this means the war ceased, and the governor of Malacca having sent Tristan Monez to examine the Molucca islands, he himself returned to hither India; with the greatest part of the Portuguese. However, after his departure, the war broke out again, and the fort sustained a close siege for seventeen days. The enemy threw burning torches into one of the Portuguese galleys, and into two other ships belonging to their allies. Our people sallied out to extinguish the fire; whilst they were engaged with the enemy, the
powder

powder in Gago's ship unluckily took fire, which blew her up, and all aboard were destroyed. Diego Mendez the commander of another ship, was killed by a cannon bullet. The Portuguese, however, extinguished the fire, and at last repulsed the enemy, who, when they saw what losses they had sustained, and that the citizens of Malacca remained faithful to our people, fighting bravely under the Bendar, being discouraged they raised the siege, and the king of Bantam from this time gave over all hostilities. In these encounters the Portuguese lost about eighteen of their men. About four hundred of the enemy were killed, and many taken prisoners: amongst these was a son of a prince in Siam: The father, as a ransom for his son sent a large ship to Malacca loaded with provisions, which proved a most seasonable relief to our people.

This year Emmanuel sent a fleet of ten ships to India, under the command of Lopez Sequeira, who was to succeed Soarez in the government. After they had turned the cape, a fish of a monstrous bulk ran foul upon John de Lemos's ship, with so much force, that the vessel was thrown upon one side, and kept in this position for some time.

The sailors and pilots imagined we had struck upon a rock, but when they perceived her seams tight, and that she did not leak, they then began to be of courage, and the fish being driven from the ship, she proceeded on her course. The fleet arrived at Goa on the 8th of September, at which time Soarez was busy in building a fort in the isle of Ceylon, according to instructions from Emmanuel. Soon after his arrival at Columbo, in that island, he had obtained this liberty from the king. But his majesty being afterwards influenced by the Arabians, not only refused what he had already promised, but likewise made hostile preparations against our people. In the night time he stationed strong garrisons of soldiers, and planted several batteries, which began to play on
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the Portugueſe with great fury. Soarez having immediately landed his ſoldiers, a battle enſued, in which Veriſſimo Pacheco, a nobleman of great gallantry, was killed, and ſeveral were likewise wounded. The enemy, nevertheleſs, after having ſuffered great ſlaughter, were at laſt driven from their ſtations. The king became a ſuppliant, and ſued for peace, which was accordingly granted, on condition he allowed a fort to be erected, and, as a puniſhment for his late raſhneſs, that he ſhould pay a yearly tribute to Emmanuel. The tribute was to be a certain number of diamonds, and a large quantity of cinnamon. Soarez on the other hand, engaged that the king ſhould henceforth be under the protection of the Portugueſe, who would aſſiſt and defend him againſt all the attacks of his enemies. The treaty being accordingly concluded, was confirmed by oath, and the articles were ſigned by the king, and ſeveral of the nobility, as well as by Soarez. The fort, by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, being ſoon finiſhed, was entrusted to John Sylveire, and the care of naval affairs committed to Antonio Miranda. Soarez then returned to Cochin, where he found Sequeire, to whom he delivered up the government of India, and from thence departed for Portugal.

Sequeire immediately applied himſelf to the buſineſs of his government with great aſſiduity. He ſent Chriſtopher Souſa to reduce the city of Dabul, which had revolted from Emmanuel. He diſpatched Alphonſo Monez to ſtorm Batical, and ordered John de Gomez to build a fort in the Maldiviſlands, but this man was unfortunately killed by the Arabians of Cambaya. Sequeire ſailed for Goa, and in his courſe thither, carefully examined the forts of Cananor and Calicut. Soon after his arrival at Goa, he ſent Antony Saldagna to the Arabian ſea with a large fleet, to harraſs the Arabians. He ordered Simon Andrade to ſail to China, who as we ſaid above, by his mad behaviour,

behaviour, alienated the affections of that people from the Portuguese. He deputed Antony Correa to wait on the king of Pegu, with proposals of peace and friendship. By his permission, Garcia Sala went to transact some business at Malacca. Garcia, at his arrival there, found Alphonso Lopez Costa, in a very bad state of health; for the recovery of which he set out for Hither India, and at his departure, entrusted the fort to Garcia. Alphonso arrived at Cochin but a few days after, where he was carried off by his distemper.

Whilst these things were transacted in India, the Portuguese in Africa made several incursions on the inhabitants of mount Farrob, those of Benanarim, and the neighbouring parts, and did them considerable damage. This roused the resentment of Abraham, Barraza's son, who resolved to revenge these hostilities. He accordingly marched secretly in the night, with five hundred cavalry, and placed them in ambush in the villages adjacent to the lands of Arzila, lying towards Tangier. He likewise sent out Aroaze, to reconnoitre as far as the watch towers of Alfandaquim. Coutign knew Aroaze to be a shrewd and active man, and was accordingly very cautious to guard against his artifices. For this reason, he never sent out any scouts from the city, without always assigning them some cavalry for a convoy. Coutign had accordingly, at this time, dispatched some scouts, whom Aroaze watched narrowly till they had taken their stations. Then he gave intelligence to Abraham, who having marched out in great silence from his place of ambuscade, advanced towards the Portuguese, who when they saw the first line of the enemy, thought proper to retreat: but the Moors halted. Fernando Gallæco, commander of the party which was sent to protect the scouts, when he saw the enemy stop, attacked them. They retreated in good order, till they drew our people to their second line, which Gallæco had not perceived. About seventeen of the Por-

Portuguese were killed, and the rest driven to flight. In the way by which they were to retreat, there was a narrow lake : here Lewis Valens, a man of great courage, placed himself. He encouraged our people, and opposed himself against the enemy; nor did he move from thence, till the Portuguese had passed over the lake; so that by his conduct and bravery they were brought off in good order. Abraham, in his return home, was set upon by Antonio Mascaregn, and four more horsemen, who were all taken prisoners in this rash attempt. Mascaregn was treated by the king of Fez in the kindest manner, but the plague then raging amongst the Moors, he caught the infection, and died.

At this time Emmanuel recalled Pedro Soufa, and gave the government of Azamor to Alvaro Norhogna, who made peace with many of the Moorish chiefs, imposing on them a reasonable tribute; and he reduced many of the rebellious and refractory. On the 17th of April he laid waste the lands of Benemez, killed many of the inhabitants, and carried off two hundred and eighty prisoners, together with a considerable booty. On the month of June he sent Vasco Fernando Cæsar to attack a body of the Moorish cavalry. Vasco accordingly fell upon them unawares, took eight hundred prisoners, and having got considerable plunder, returned to the city, without the loss of one man. In August Antonio Gundiffalvo, pursuant to Norhogna's instructions, set upon a body of their infantry, whom, after an obstinate resistance, he totally defeated, and brought several of them into captivity. This same month, some of the confederates petitioned for a reinforcement from Norhogna, to attack the Moors of Enxovia, and to get a supply of corn from thence. They accordingly proceeded on this expedition; but two hundred of the enemy coming in sight, the confederates imagined that there were a greater number lying in ambush. Being alarmed with this apprehension, they fled to the first line :

line: the Portuguese in the last line, being now left alone to sustain the shock, many of them were taken prisoners, and the rest made a shameful retreat. The blame, however, was not to be laid on them, but on those who deserted them. Nor could the Portuguese who were present at this action, think on it without the utmost indignation.

At this time Emmanuel was perplexed with various cares. Being now unincumbered with a wife, he was desirous of devoting the remainder of his life to some great and glorious exploits. He therefore resolved to give up the administration of the kingdom to his son John and the council, and to go to Algarve; that from thence he might pass over into Africa; and being rid of all other cares, he designed in person to carry on the war against the Moors, and to propagate the Christian religion. But he was diverted from this resolution by a set of perfidious courtiers, whose artifices he ought to have defeated not by the alteration of his design, but by exemplary punishment. For according to the custom of mankind, who are apt to measure things more by their own covetous desires than by the rules of faith and honour, these men began to disregard Emmanuel, who, they thought could not live long, and turned their whole thoughts on John, from whom they expected greater and more lasting honours. They accordingly endeavoured by all their arts, to insinuate themselves into the favour of the young prince, who was by nature of a good and virtuous disposition, but his youth and inexperience made him somewhat open to tricks and stratagems. They detracted greatly from the praises of Emmanuel, saying he was a man who employed his thoughts more on erecting magnificent buildings than keeping up the royal dignity; that he debased the importance of his character, by mean condescension; and such was the easiness of his temper, that he granted any one access to his presence, and entered into conversation with the lowest of his subjects; that he like-

wife lavished away the wealth of his kingdom; and, in short, that he wanted many noble qualities which ought to adorn a prince. They therefore told John, if he was desirous of becoming a great and illustrious monarch, that he should follow a quite different course from his father, and by no means allow himself to be become common, and grow into contempt. John was a prince of the utmost piety, mildness, and benevolence, and had the highest affection for his father; yet so far was he influenced by the repeated speeches of these men, that he began to disapprove the behaviour and conduct of Emmanuel; and resolved, when he came to the crown, to proceed on a quite different plan, thinking by this means to acquire glory and renown. He was likewise surrounded by some, who endeavoured to persuade him, that to act according to one's own inclinations was the most princely prerogative. To have the will checked or controlled, they said, was suited to slaves, but highly unbecoming the regal power.

Emmanuel being informed of these things, was now afraid if he left the government to his son, who was surrounded with flatterers, that he should be despised by him, and the kingdom would be greatly endangered by the artifices of these designing men. For this reason he determined to lay aside his scheme of resigning the sovereignty to his son; and resolved to marry again. He accordingly solicited the emperor Charles to give him in marriage his sister Eleanor, a lady of great beauty and merit, whom he had formerly sought for his son John. Pedro Govean was the person he had sent into Germany for that purpose. But now so much had he changed his mind, that he desired her for his own wife. This became matter of great speculation, and drew upon him the censure of many of his subjects. 'Our king,' said they, 'who has hitherto acted with the tenderness of a father towards us, seems now to neglect the interest of his people. How can a widow prince fifty years old,
and

‘ and encumbered with so many children, induce the
 ‘ emperor’s sister to a match so unsuitable to her
 ‘ age, but by lavishing away the wealth of his king-
 ‘ dom. His son might have had a large patrimony
 ‘ with her, but Emmanuel must take her portion-
 ‘ less, and be obliged to settle upon her a considerable
 ‘ dowry. He has already eight sons, and perhaps
 ‘ may have as many more by his new wife. How
 ‘ will he be able to provide for so numerous an
 ‘ offspring out of so small a kingdom. What ho-
 ‘ nours, what possessions will he be able to bestow
 ‘ on the royal progeny, that they may not be mingled
 ‘ with the rest of the people, and forced to get their
 ‘ living in some ordinary manner. Besides, to make
 ‘ up for such a disparity of years, he must be obliged
 ‘ to be extremely uxorious; and in the management
 ‘ of his kingdom will very probably not consult his
 ‘ own glory and fame, but act according to the will
 ‘ and pleasure of his beautiful consort.’ This was the
 talk of many of the Portuguese, concerning the king’s
 intended marriage. Emmanuel, however, remained
 fixed in his resolution. Accordingly, when the em-
 peror Charles came from the Netherlands into Spain,
 to settle the inheritance of that kingdom, he sent to
 him Alvaro Costa, his lord chamberlain, as an em-
 bassador. The pretence of this embassy, was to con-
 gratulate his imperial majesty on his arrival in Spain,
 but in reality to bring about the marriage. In this
 Costa succeeded. The match was agreed upon; Charles
 settled a dowry on his sister, and she received
 considerable presents sent by Emmanuel. Several
 holidays were kept on this occasion, and the matri-
 monial treaty was celebrated at Caragoca, where
 Charles then resided, with universal mirth and re-
 joicing. As Emmanuel was so nearly related by
 blood and affinity to Eleanor, it was therefore ne-
 cessary, before the marriage could be consummated, to
 have a dispensation from the pope; which was accord-
 ingly very readily granted by his holiness. When

Emmanuel received the news of the marriage being concluded, it gave him vast pleasure, but it had a quite different effect on the nobility, and the rest of his people. It vexed John above all, not that he himself desired this marriage, but because he thought it would be extremely prejudicial to the interest of the kingdom. Emmanuel having summoned a council of his nobles, made a speech to them, wherein he set forth the reasons for his marriage; with which all present were extremely satisfied, or at least appeared to be so, so that they might not give offence to his majesty. All of them in order, according to custom, kissed his hand, and wished him joy and happiness in his marriage.

About this time, the plague broke out at Lisbon, which obliged his majesty to remove to Almeida. From thence he went to Crato, a famous town belonging to the order of hospitallers, where he intended to wait the arrival of his queen. Eleanor accordingly came to the confines of Portugal, attended by several of the Spanish nobility. The Portuguese nobles came to receive her at a little river called Severo, which divides Portugal from Castile. Martin Albicastro, Conde di Villa nova Portu mano, a town in Algarve, crossed over the river, and kissed her majesty's hand. The Conde di Portomano, the bishop of Portugal, and the archbishop of Lisbon, having followed in order, performed the same ceremony, and all the rest of the nobility followed their example. The queen then passed over the river, being led by the duke D'Alba, and the bishop of Cordova. As soon as Eleanor came to the Portuguese side, the Duke of Braganza, who stood there at the head of two thousand cavalry nobly equipt, dismounted, and in the name of his royal master, came to receive her majesty. This nobleman being asked by the duke D'Alba, whether he was empowered to perform this office by the authority of Emmanuel, he immediately produced his instructions, stamped with the royal seal, and

and signed by the king. These being read in public with a loud voice, were delivered to the duke D'Alba, who then taking hold of a golden chain fixed to the queen's arm, gave her into the hands of the duke of Braganza. This ceremony being over, the Spanish nobility departed, excepting the bishop of Cordova, and the Conde di Tregenia, who were embassadors, and the duke of Villa Franca, master of the order of hospitallers in Spain, together with the Conde di Montacuto, who went with the queen to Crato.

Her majesty being arrived at that town, after supper was visited by Emmanuel, whom she received in the most affectionate manner. John offered to kiss her hand; but this she would by no means permit. However, in order to keep up the custom of Spain, she allowed this piece of respect to be paid to her by George son to king John, and master of the Jacobin and Cistercian order. The archbishop of Lisbon married the king and queen, according to the form established in our church, and the ceremony was celebrated by the utmost demonstrations of mirth and rejoicing. They then proceeded for Almeiria. In their way thither, they were met by the king's sons, who having dismounted, offered to kiss her majesty's hand; but this she would not allow, and behaved to them with the highest marks of affection. The rest of the nobility who had not yet paid their respects to her, saluted her in the usual manner. When they reached Almeiria, Isabel and Beatrix, Emmanuel's daughters, were about to come down the palace stairs to receive her majesty; but she prevented them by her expedition, and having raised them up, she embraced them with the utmost tenderness. The rest of the ladies at court kissed her majesty's hand; to whom she behaved with great kindness, though with a proper dignity. This day was celebrated by singing, dancing, and all kind of music. The following day Emmanuel, according to Charles's directions, was

made a knight of the order of the golden fleece, founded by Philip duke of Burgundy, and ever since kept up in the most sacred manner, of which Charles himself was master. Their Portuguese majesties spent all their winter at Almeiria, in a very agreeable manner. In the beginning of the spring, they moved from thence, and went to Eborá.

This year 1519, Emmanuel sent a fleet of sixteen ships to India, under the command of George Albuquerque. But the voyage proved unprosperous. Diego Lemos's ship was driven back to Lisbon; Lewis Gulman the commander of another, having deserted the fleet; turned pyrate, and committed many acts of cruelty and wickedness. Emmanuel Sousa being separated by stress of weather, put in at the port of Mantua, on the Æthiopian coast, in his way to Melinda, where he, together with forty more of the Portuguese, going ashore to buy provisions, were killed by the Arabians. The ship was driven by a violent storm to an island not far from Quiloa, where she ran upon the shelves. The Arabians plundered her, and killed all the Portuguese, excepting one boy, whom the king of Zansibra took under his protection. George Albuquerque, with nine ships, wintered at Mozambique and only four reached India.

In the mean while Diego Lopez Sequeira was making great preparations to carry on a war against the Arabians. And as he stood in need of a greater strength, he dispatched Gundisalvo Loulenso, in a light ship, to George Albuquerque at Mozambique, desiring him to sail from thence to the red sea, that with united force they might storm the city of Teddo. Sequeira being afraid of the arts of Melichiaz, sent Christopher Sala with three gallies to cruize on the coast of Cambaya, who accordingly executed his commission with great care, and returned with considerable booty. Sequeira was likewise joined at this time by Antonio Saldagna, who had been cruizing near cape Guardafu, where he had taken several prizes.

About

About this time it happened, that the king, by a slight provocation, so much exasperated one of his subjects, that forgetting all the ties of honour, fidelity and religion, he proved treacherous to his king and native country, and run himself headlong into the greatest danger. This was Fernando Magellan, whom we have mentioned above, a man of nobility, and endowed with great courage. In India he had given the highest proofs of his warlike prowess, and had no less distinguished himself in Africa for his gallant behaviour. Formerly it had been a custom amongst the Portuguese, that all those who served under the king, as well as their sons, were maintained in the palace at his majesty's expence. But in time these domesticks grew so numerous, that it seemed very troublesome to provide provisions for such a multitude. For which reason it was decreed by the Portuguese kings, that a certain monthly pension should be paid to every one out of the treasury, to defray his own expences. The sum allotted for that purpose was formerly sufficient, when provisions were cheap; but when the kingdom grew more populous, and the price of all necessaries rose considerably, the allowance then became very scanty. Nevertheless, as the Portuguese derive all dignity from their prince, this allowance though small, used to be sought for with great eagerness; and as it was thought a great honour to be admitted into the royal family, so likewise the larger the pension was, it was esteemed the more honourable. The Portuguese kings had different classes of servants, and the sum paid them was in proportion to their rank or services. The first class comprehends the nobility, whose salaries were proportioned to their quality or merit. Thus it happened, that the same and greatness of every one was estimated according to his pension. This way of judging, however, of a man, was frequently very fallacious; for many, by meer sollicitation and importunity, procured what was only due to merit and true nobility. In short, this

this allowance, though small, was reputed so honourable amongst the Portuguese, that every one strove for it with as much keenness, as if, in this alone, all safety and dignity had consisted.

Magellan petitioned, that, in consideration of his great services, his monthly pension should be raised half a ducat. The king, however, in order to give a check to forward ambition, peremptorily refused his request. This so enraged Magellan, that he deserted the king, violated his faith, and brought his country into great danger. Injuries received from our country, as well as those from kings, who are the parents thereof, are not to be revenged. Our life we owe to our country, and we ought to sacrifice it for her defence. But this perverse man was so offended at the refusal of such a trifling sum, that he resolved to forsake his royal master, and turn an enemy to his native country, for the preservation of which he ought to have sacrificed his life. The affair came to such a length, that by his means Portugal was threatened with a most formidable war. It is methinks somewhat astonishing, how so barbarous a custom should have crept into any civilized nation. The traitor to his country, is not only infamous in himself, but conveys an everlasting stain and ignominy to all his posterity. The criminal himself is sensible of his heinous crime, but by way of salvo to his villany, he perhaps makes a solemn abjuration of his faith, throws up all his honours to the king, renounces all duty to his country, and declares, that he no longer desires to be considered as a member thereof. After this, he thinks he may commit all manner of hostilities without breach of faith. Be it so then, O perfidious man, despise the honours of your country, contemn her bounty: bellow as much as you please, because you have not received rewards suitable to your merit; yet how can you break through your plighted faith? You say, you have received considerable injuries: suppose it to be so: yet your parents and country ought to be sacred

facred from your revenge. You have given up, you say, all you received from your country. What, have you then relinquished life together with all your knowledge and abilities! For all these, though first received from the author of nature, were preserved and confirmed to you by the laws, customs and institutions of your country. Nor is it lawful for you, though provoked by the highest injuries, to oppose nature, and violate your faith. Nay, rather than break through such sacred ties, you ought to suffer the severest tortures, and forego life itself. Abjure and renounce your faith as much and as publicly as you please, yet all this will avail nothing to take off your guilt. It will only serve to be a more strong and lasting monument of your treacherous perfidy.

Magellan, however, was so much blinded by resentment, that he abjured his faith to his king and country; and thought, by this means, that he had dissolved himself from all obligations; and that he was now at liberty to become an enemy to his native country. He accordingly went into Spain to Charles, whom he told that the Molucco islands beyond Malacca were within the Spanish boundaries; and that Emmanuel had unjustly seized them, contrary to the treaty subsisting betwixt these two princes. He took along with him Roderigo Falerio, a man skilled in astronomy, who endeavoured also to confirm Charles in this opinion. Alvarez Costa, who then resided at the Spanish court, as ambassador from Portugal, waited on his majesty about this affair, put him in mind of his near connexion and alliance with Emmanuel; and told him, it would be unbecoming his dignity to give ear to such perfidious men, who had already violated their faith to the best of princes, and still wanted to pursue their wickedness and falshood. ‘Traitors,’ said he, ‘ought to be detested and abhorred by all men, but especially princes: for those who give countenance to such wretches, nourish a plague, which threátens destruction to all crowned heads.’

Charles

Charles, being a prince of an easy temper, was at that time influenced by the remonstrances of Costa. But afterwards, at the instigation of the nobility, who urged him not, under the pretext of an alliance, to neglect an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, he appointed some ships to Magellan, who was to try to find out a new way to the Indies; for in the treaty betwixt John and Ferdinand, in relation to their discoveries, it was agreed that the Spaniards should not fail by any passage found out by the Portuguese. The former, therefore, were to have the eastern half of the globe, and the latter the western part for their navigation. And as the earth is divided into three hundred and sixty degrees, these two nations had each of them one hundred and eighty, where they might make discoveries. The meridian was their boundary. This is a line supposed to be in the heavens, going from the northern to the southern pole, and is so called, because when the sun is in this line, it is mid-day to all those who live under that region. The longitude of Lisbon from this line is thirty six degrees.

The error of Magellan, and those who followed him, which brought up a notion that the Moluccos belonged to the crown of Spain, arose from several causes. In the first place, when we go through unknown regions, where there are no mountains or other marks to direct us, it happens that the course we have taken appears much more extensive than it is in reality. This is generally the case, but especially when we sail in the wide ocean, where there are no mountains or valleys to direct the sight, or assist us in the determination of distances. Secondly, those who have sailed through unknown seas, from a particular vanity, are apt to magnify the length of their voyage, that they themselves may appear more great and wonderful, when they return, as it were, from another world. Besides, though we should suppose that our sea-faring people were free of this vanity, yet, from their ignorance

rance in astronomy, they are very liable to be mistaken; and when they have had a winding circuit, are apt to imagine they steered in a direct line. Thus it happened, that the distance betwixt the Indus and Ganges, which is equal to ten degrees, was called thirty by Ptolemy; and this learned geographer was led into that mistake by the account he had received from very worthy, though ignorant persons, who had visited those countries: for when they sailed from the Indus to cape Comorin, and from thence to the Ganges, they measured this course as if they had gone in a direct line, or but a little to the southward. There is also another reason to be assigned for this vulgar error; for when our people had doubled the cape of Good Hope, and steered to another promontory of a much less extent, they imagined they had sailed a much greater way than the violence of the sea, beating against their ships, would allow; for the easterly monsoons, or trade-winds, are at certain times extremely boisterous in those parts; and the sea hereabouts, because of its vast depth and extent, being greatly affected by the moon, makes the tides extremely violent. The sea, therefore, being driven from the east to the western coasts with incredible force, and repulsed from the opposite coast, runs to the south, where it meets with no obstruction, with vast rapidity; and, by its violence, greatly retards the navigation from the cape of Good Hope. Our people, however, not being sensible of this, were greatly mistaken in their calculations, imagining they had gone much farther than they really had.

These circumstances then gave rise to that error of Ptolemy, as well as to some others, which the Portuguese ran into in their geographical descriptions. This dispute, however, betwixt our people and the Spaniards, brought one advantage to the Portuguese, that it made them more careful and accurate in their enquiries. The only way they could not come at this exactness, was by the lunar eclipses; for when the moon is darkened by the interposition of the earth, it

is obvious, that the eclipse must appear sooner in India than in Portugal, which lies so much more to the westward; so that, by a careful observation, the dispute betwixt their Castilian and Portuguese majesties was intirely removed. Pedro Nunez, an eminent mathematician, and some others, were appointed for that purpose. These persons accordingly discovered, that an eclipse appeared at the mouth of the Indus six hours sooner than at Lisbon. Now as one hour is equal to fifteen degrees, six must make ninety. From the Indus to the remotest of the Moluccos is forty-two degrees, which, together with the ninety, make one hundred and thirty two degrees; to which if you add thirty-six, the distance of Lisbon from the meridian, the sum will be one hundred and sixty eight degrees. From this computation it appears then, that Magellan was grossly mistaken, and that his Portuguese majesty had still twelve degrees left for farther discoveries. This dispute, however, before it could be determined, was productive of many fatal consequences; and two worthy princes, related by blood as well as alliance, became enemies to each other, by the instigation and subtle machinations of a perfidious and revengeful Portuguese. But to return to the particulars of that affair.

When Emmanuel had received intelligence of Magellan's design, by a letter from Costa, he summoned a council, but came to no determination. In the mean while Costa, by large promises, endeavoured to dissuade Magellan from his resolution; and, for some time, made him waver in his sentiments. But this perfidious man, thinking he should gain more by his intended villany than by returning to his duty, at last utterly rejected Costa's promises. Having then settled every thing with Charles, according to his wishes, he and Falerio set out for Seville: but Falerio now began to feel some remorse for his wickedness, and a few days after died with grief. Magellan, as we mentioned before, had five ships allotted him, with a power of life and death over all on board. He set sail on the

10th of August, to find out lands and countries which he had never seen nor heard of, only he conjectured there might be such. But there is no difficulty so arduous, which a bold mind, pushed on by despair, will not attempt. Having passed by the coast of Brazil, he got to the other side of the line: and when he was in fifty-three degrees southern latitude, in the month of September 1520, he came into a narrow sea, which he called after his own name, in order to preserve the memory of this exploit. But the cold here was so intense, that many of the Spaniards died, in a miserable manner. These straits, according to report, are fourteen leagues in length. After he had got through them he came now nearer the line, and got into a more mild and temperate climate. He met, however, with various misfortunes. The officers, together with the rest of the Spaniards, mutinied, and formed a conspiracy against him; but they were quelled, and several of them put to death. He came at last to the island of Marten; the king of which, being then engaged in war, craved his assistance, which he accordingly gave, and by his means the war was soon brought to a conclusion; but he was soon after treacherously killed by this very prince. Thus one traitor became the instrument of punishing another for his perfidy. Only two of the ships (the rest being lost) reached Tidore, one of the Molucco islands. One of these proceeded directly homewards, and arrived at Seville the 8th of September 1522. The other, being extremely leaky, put into Tidore to be repaired; and after having taken in a lading, steered to the northward: but after she was out at sea, the weather being cold and stormy, and her provisions running short, she was forced to return. When the Spaniards came back to the Moluccos, having received intelligence that there were Portuguese in the island of Ternate, they sent to beg assistance for poor distressed men of the same religion, and almost of the same country. ‘ Their ship, they said, was disabled, almost all the crew had perished, and those

‘ who

‘ who remained, in the most sickly and infirm condition.’ Antonio Britto, who then governed that island, sent Garcia Henriques to their relief. The Spaniards were received in the kindest manner, and treated with the utmost hospitality. Their own vessel being destroyed, they were conveyed in the Portuguese ships to India, and from thence returned to Spain. This was the issue of Magellan’s expedition.

But to return to the affairs of the year 1519. On the 9th of February Alvarez Norhogna, the governor of Azamor, having marched to that part of Africa which is called Enxovia, with two hundred and thirty horse and one hundred foot, he overthrew the enemy in a severe conflict, and carried off two hundred and ten prisoners. On the 25th of the same month, having marched forty-eight miles, he attacked the camp of Nacerbendum (one of the Enxovian princes): he took prisoners two of his wives, two sons, one daughter, and many of his other relations, together with a great number of persons of distinction. When Norhogna was on his return to Azamor, Antonio Leitan, one of the Portuguese cavalry, committed a most barbarous and inhuman action. There was amongst the captives a Moorish lady of extraordinary beauty, betrothed in marriage to Nacerbendum’s son: she had on her arms and legs silver bracelets of considerable value. Leitan cast his eyes on this booty, and, that he might come at it the more readily, cut off the hands and feet of this unfortunate creature. Norhogna, being moved with indignation, bitterly reproached him for his barbarity; and having taken the spoil from this ruffian, put him in custody, and sent him in disgrace to Portugal.

On the 20th of March, Norhogna again led out his army against some of the enemy in the same province. In his way he took a number of camels well loaded. When night came on he marched to the top of a mountain, and desired the guide to lead him by some stoney road, that the enemy might not be able to discover his march from the footsteps of his horses.

Then,

Then, after having given his men two days rest, he drew them up in three lines: the first he gave to Antonio Lopez Sequeira; the second, to Diego Melos; and the third, in which was the greatest number of soldiers, he reserved for himself. In this manner they marched in great silence; and having fallen on some troops of the enemy, drove them to a precipitate flight. Our people took three hundred and eighty prisoners, and carried off a deal of plunder. The enemy, however, re-assembled by a signal given; and great numbers having flocked in from all quarters, their army now became very numerous. The Portuguese came back to meet them in order. Zala Bembarqua, one of the confederate Moors, a man of great gallantry, being resolved to perform some great exploit, in sight of our people, singly made an attack on the enemy: Norhogna immediately marched to his assistance. At the first assault thirty of the enemy were killed, and one of their principal leaders taken prisoner. The rest were so much affrighted with this blow, that they would proceed no farther. Norhogna, being now unmolested, continued his march to Azamor. In his way he was obliged to pass over a fordable river: when he came near the ford, being afraid that the vast number of cattle which he brought with him might disturb the order of his men, and be an incumbrance in passing the river, he gave the greatest part to a confederate Moor. Having got over with the rest of the plunder, he halted with his men on the opposite side, and refreshed them for two hours, in sight of the enemy, thinking they would endeavour to pass the river; but when he found they dared not to venture on such an attempt, he then proceeded for Azamor, where he arrived in safety with his army and booty.

On the 25th of March, he made another excursion against a party of the Moors, when he took fifty of them straggling. The rest being driven to flight, alarmed all the villages and country places. Upon

this the Moors came together in great numbers; but Norhogna being afraid he might be overpowered by such a multitude, returned to Afamor with his prisoners. On the 28th of the same month, he led out his forces, in order to surprize some of the Moorish troops. But in his march, having met with a large body of cavalry, he sent before Lanfator Treita, with sixty horse, to begin the attack, whilst he himself followed with the rest of the army. A desperate battle ensued, which ended at last in favour of the Portuguese. Many of the enemy were left dead on the spot, sixty were taken prisoners, and the rest saved themselves by a hasty flight. Amongst the captives, there was one principal officer named Arhago, one hundred years old, a man of great bravery, who had served in all the different stations of the army with great reputation.

On the 30th of the same month Norhogna, who hated to lie unactive, fell unawares upon Siner, a fortified city, which he took by storm; this he gave up to be plundered by the confederates, and carried off from thence three hundred and fifty eight prisoners to Afamor. He was himself assiduous and indefatigable, nor would he allow any of his officers to remain in a state of inaction. He dispatched Vasco Ferdinand Cæsar, in whose bravery he greatly confided, on various expeditions, to harrass the enemy as much as possible. This man having received intelligence from one of his captives, that a troop of the Moorish horse was assembled together in a place called Fornignio, to destroy the neighbouring corn, he fell upon them unawares, killed several, took the captain prisoner, and drove the rest to flight.

Some time after, Norhogna being informed, that a considerable body of the enemy were lodged near the town of Tele, with an intention to ravage the neighbouring lands, and to surprize any of our people straggling in the fields, he sent the same leader against them. Cæsar accordingly executed his orders

with great expedition and intrepidity. He found none of the enemy's cavalry, but he had an engagement with a body of their foot, who not being able to fly from our cavalry, saw that their whole safety consisted in their bravery, and accordingly fought in the most desperate manner. The greatest part of them being killed, the remainder took shelter in a neighbouring temple, and having formed themselves into a circular body, stood on their defence with amazing intrepidity. Cæsar having ascended the steps of the temple, with vast difficulty, was the first who entered; Francisco Vasco was the second; and Francisco Roderigo the third. The rest of the Portuguese being animated by the example of these men, immediately followed. Some having climbed up to the roof of the temple, descended upon the enemy with vast fury. Cæsar having grappled one of them, who made a most formidable resistance, threw him headlong from the temple. These men held out with so much obstinacy, that not one of them escaped. They not only fought with their swords and daggers, but locking several of our people in their arms, strove to tumble them to the ground from the summit of the temple. This rencounter, though it may seem inconsiderable from the small number of the combatants, yet brought no small share of glory to the conquerors. The enemy were brave, fought from an eminence, and with such obstinacy, that not one would surrender, all of them choosing to die on the spot, rather than submit to a state of slavery.

A few days afterwards, Cæsar was sent for by Emmanuel, to command a fleet appointed to cruize in the Streights of Gibraltar.

There is a fortified town in Enxovia, called Umber, about twenty eight miles from Asamor. It stands on the top of an high hill, with a valley at the bottom, through which there runs a river. Norhogna had a great desire to take this place. He accordingly made an assault upon it on the 10th of April. He plied the

defenders with his small cannon, and put them into great disorder. He fixed scaling ladders to the walls, and stormed the fortifications for a considerable time, with the utmost vigour. The townsmen, however, made a bold defence. But when he saw this way of attacking did not succeed, he had recourse to another method. He picked out some of his bravest men, who, notwithstanding the attempt was dangerous, were to endeavour to cut down the gates with hatchets. They accordingly, though annoyed with stones and all manner of missive weapons, tore the gates from their hinges, according to the orders of Norhogna. The assailants now attempted to enter the city; but the enemy having formed themselves into a body, made a long and vigorous opposition. Our people, however, after having made great slaughter, at last forced their entrance. The enemy run down the hill towards the river, and many of them killed themselves by descending in so precipitate a manner. Great numbers of the enemy, according to report, were that day slain; two hundred and fifty six were taken prisoners. None of the Portuguese were killed, and only about ten wounded. Norhogna, after this success, marched back to Asamor. He did not put a garrison in Umbre: this was not his design; he only intended to frighten the enemy, and to shew them that no town, though strongly fortified, could be secure from the Portuguese.

On the 8th of October, Norhogna marched out to surprize a body of horse belonging to Alli Maim, one of the Moorish chiefs. But meeting with some other Moors, whom he took prisoners, he was informed by them, that it would be impossible for him then to surprize the enemy; he therefore resolved to return. On the 14th he sent out some scouts to bring intelligence where those Moorish leaders lay encamped, who had seized a troop of camels coming from Saffia to Asamor, and had taken and made a slave of one of the confederates, a man of great distinction. The
scouts

scouts took three Moors, whom they brought to Norhogna. These informed him that the enemy's camp was about forty four miles off. He accordingly made no delay, but marched away in the night. The following day he lay in ambush, so as not to be perceived by the enemy. As soon as it was dark, he proceeded towards the town of Tamarochio, near which it was said the enemy lay encamped. Here he drew up his men in three lines, and gave to each commander his particular instructions. He then set upon the enemy with incredible expedition. Having attacked them unawares, he partly killed, and partly drove them to flight. He plundered their camp, and carried off a considerable booty of cattle, camels and horses, together with two hundred and fifty prisoners. Norhogna immediately founded a retreat; this he did by way of precaution, lest his soldiers should be scattered and divided through an eagerness of seeking after plunder, whilst the enemy, as it generally happened, might return reinforced from the neighbourhood. It was now midnight when he called off his men. Mean while the enemy, as he expected, flocked together from all quarters, and laying hold of whatever they could light upon, threw stake, stones, and all manner of missile weapons, with so much force, that they did great damage to our people. The skirmish was extremely hot, and lasted above two hours. In the mean while, light beginning to appear, our people could now discern the number of the enemy. Norhogna having again drawn up his men in battle array, animated them to fight, by the most encouraging speeches. Nor was the affair now carried on with stones and missile weapons, but they fought desperately with spears and swords. Norhogna made a gradual and regular retreat, sometimes facing about to repulse the enemy. Having observed one man in particular to be extremely daring, he spurred on his horse against him, and ran him through with a spear. But whilst he was drawing the weapon out of the

body of his prostrate enemy, he himself received such a stroke on his helmet, as rendered him senseless, and made him tumble from his horse. Vasco Ferdinand Cæsar, who had left the fleet, immediately flew to his assistance, as Martin Egido did likewise, and several other persons. These men withstood the shock of the enemy, till Norhogna, by proper help, being come to himself, mounted another horse brought him by his servant: He gave the rear to be commanded by John Freita, and the quarter master, and he himself went to the van with the royal standard; for he had not now sufficient strength to engage the enemy. Those in the rear behaved nobly. They not only withstood the shock with intrepidity, but also killed several. After sun-rise the enemy pressed more furiously on our people, who in their turn repulsed them with surprizing gallantry, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, got safe to Afamor with their plunder. There were killed about two hundred of the enemy. Not one of the Portuguese were missing, though several were wounded, and some lost their limbs in the battle. This was a great and memorable action, which struck vast terror into the enemy; for Norhogna had only brought from Afamor two hundred and fifty horse, and thirty five foot. On the other hand the Moors of Enxovia had five hundred horse, and a considerable body of foot. And as the enemy at first begun the fight with stones, so in remembrance thereof, the soldiers used afterwards to call it the Battle of stones. After this victory many of the Moors sued for peace, and submitted to Emmanuel.

About this time, Coutign having formed a design to attack a large village where some brave Moorish cavalry were lodged, sent for a reinforcement from Duarte Monez, who accordingly dispatched him one hundred horse, under the command of Andrew Henriques. Coutign set out in the dusk of the evening; but by the ignorance of his guide did not come near the

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the village till day-light: the enemy were apprized of his approach, so that when he reached the village, he found it almost deserted. The greatest part of the inhabitants were fled, and those who remained made an obstinate resistance. About sixteen were killed, and forty four made prisoners. Three of the Portuguese fell in this affair. Coutign hastened to retire with his booty, and went another road which he thought more convenient. Pedro Lopez Azeved was coming by the way which Coutign had quited, with seven of the cavalry. The enemy pouring in from all quarters, fell upon them. They first killed Alvarez Vasco de Tavira. Then they slew Azeved coming to his assistance, together with Vasco's servant, who endeavoured to defend his master. Jasper Cugna suffered also the same fate. The commander of the Portuguese vanguard, when endeavouring to come up to their relief, had his horse killed under him. He himself was also in the greatest jeopardy, and his son was desperately wounded by two of the enemy's javelins. There was a defile which the enemy wanted to get possession of, in order to obstruct the march of our people. Coutign, however, was resolved to be before hand with them, and accordingly proceeded with the utmost expedition. He received his men retreating from the Moors, and having opposed his archers against the enemy, by this means retarded their pursuit, and marched through the narrow pass with great danger and difficulty. Soon after he had got through this place, having received intelligence by his scouts, that the enemy, whose numbers were greatly increased, was approaching to obstruct his march, he quickened his speed, and at last got home with his plunder. Though our people in their retreat, repulsed the enemy with great intrepidity, and killed many of them, yet they themselves were in the most extreme danger; for Coutign, and all his forces, very narrowly escaped destruction.

Some days after, Emmanuel Mascaregn sent for a reinforcement of sixty horse, to assist him in an excursion which he intended. With these he marched to the river of Benamar. Having passed over it he ascended a mountain, and at sun set was returning with a pretty large booty, and five captives. But when he came to the village of Benamaran, seated on the ridge of a mountain, the enemy came forth in great numbers. Mascaregn retreated a little, and then halted for some of his men who had not yet come up. Mean while, about one hundred of the enemy's archers, together with some of their horse standing together in a body, poured their darts on our people. Pedro Menez, the guide, advised Mascaregn to send the cattle before, with a guard, to pass the river; for the enemy had thrown up ramparts on the bank, in order to obstruct the Portuguese. Mascaregn accordingly dispatched the plunder, escorted by ten of the cavalry, who were ordered to destroy the enemy's works. When the main body of the enemy, who lay a little below the ford, perceived this, they began to press on our people more furiously. Then Menez called out, 'I see,' said he, 'we cannot avoid an engagement either here or on the bank of the river. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought to set upon the enemy in this place. Here the conflict will be less dangerous and difficult, than to be attacked when fording the river.' Mascaregn approved of this resolution; and after having encouraged his men to the fight, pushed on with great forwardness. And his horse being extremely fleet, he rushed in amongst the enemy, and killed one of them, before his men could come up. The enemy immediately attacked him with their spears. At this juncture, Mascaregn was in the utmost danger, but defended himself with astonishing courage: his horse, however, was killed under him. Pedro Menez, Antonio Coutign, and Lewis Valence, were the first who came up to rescue him from the surrounding enemies,

mies. Then the rest of the Portuguese immediately following, charged the enemy with so much vigour, that they quickly routed them. Seventy seven were killed, and about forty two taken prisoners. Not one of our people fell in this affair, but several were wounded.

Soon after the king of Fez, with three thousand horse, invaded the lands adjoining to Arzila. Nothing happened in this affair memorable on either side, unless it was the death of Aroaz, a man of great gallantry. He was killed by a bullet shot by a Portuguese cobbler, who fought on horseback with a musquet. The cobbler himself, however, soon after suffered the same fate, but died like a gallant soldier, for he slew a brave enemy, who had killed many Christians.

In the mean while Nunez Mascaregn, governor of Saffia, having received intelligence that the Moors of Garabia had revolted, resolved to punish their perfidy. Two of the same province came to him, and undertook to assassinate the king of Fez's general, who, they said, was the person, who had stirred up their countrymen to revolt. Mascaregn, by a small bribe, prevailed on them to prosecute this design, the Moors in general being a venal people, and so prone of wickedness, that for a trifling reward they will perpetrate the most horrid deeds. The two Moors therefore prompted by their own disposition, and alured by Mascaregn's promises, killed the general. The Garabians frequently shifted their quarters, and were in the utmost apprehensions for themselves; and now when their commander was cut off, on whose courage and conduct their safety chiefly depended, they sued for a peace from Mascaregn, requiring, however, somewhat as a hire for their obedience. Mascaregn replied, That the liberty of cultivating their lands quiet and unmolested, would be no inconsiderable reward for their fidelity. Being dissatisfied with this answer, they entered into a league with a Moorish prince, named Oleidambam. Then having encamped near Sala, they

they harrassed the Dabidian Moors, who remained faithful to the Portuguese interest. The Dabidians sent intelligence to Mascaregn, that the enemy, on a certain day, were to attack them with a considerable body of forces. He dispatched an officer with seventy horse, and Zaide, with a party of Moors, to their assistance. The enemy being apprized of our people's approach, and thinking that Mascaregn was with them, were greatly afraid, and retreated. The Dabidians pursued them. The enemy being closely pressed, faced about upon their assailants, of whom they killed four, and obliged the rest to give ground. The Portuguese, however, coming up to the assistance of the Dabidians, repulsed the enemy: but the loss was very inconsiderable on either side. After this rencounter, Mascaregn was informed by his scouts, that all the Garabian forces lay encamped near Sala, and Oleidambram's army at no great distance: he led out two hundred and fifty horse, and one hundred and twenty foot armed with musquets. He carried likewise with him seven of the Dabidian cavalry, that they might be witnesses of the punishment which he intended to inflict on the Garabians for their perfidy. He set out from Saffia, after noon, on the 4th of November 1519. And when he had marched twenty four miles, he halted to refresh his men. The enemy's camp was now about twelve miles distant. He proceeded in the silence of the night, and about day break drew up his men in two lines; the first he gave to the commander of the rear guard, and the other he reserved for himself. They made a joint attack on the enemy's camp, with so much vigour, that they filled it with slaughter and consternation. Above three hundred were killed, and one hundred and seventy taken prisoners. Most of the Dabidians being struck with terror, again sued for peace, and consented to pay the usual tribute.

There were some, however, who still remained refractory. These depending on the protection of Xerif,
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lived at a place called Mizquella, about forty four miles from Saffia. Mascaregn was resolved to bring them likewise under subjection. But being afraid lest the Moors about Saffia might revolt in his absence, and join the enemy, he had recourse to the following expedient. There was a great fair kept annually near Saffia: thither vast numbers of the confederates used to resort. On the first day thereof, he sent for several of the Moorish chiefs, under pretence of consulting with them about some affairs of importance. These he secretly detained as hostages, and ordered the gates to be shut, that the stratagem might not be discovered, and the rest of the Moors, by this means, be highly provoked. In the dusk of the evening he set out on his expedition, with two hundred horse and six hundred foot. When he had gone about eight miles, he sent out four of his cavalry, as scouts; and appointed them to meet him at a certain place with their intelligence. Having given his men a few hours rest, he again sounded the signal, and continued his march over mountains, and out-of-the-way places, that no one might be able to discover whither he directed his course. He halted again with his army in a thick wood, near the river Jolgo. About sun-set he continued his march, till he reached at Mamometan Mosque, where the scouts were to meet him, according to appointment. Here none of the army durst venture to sleep for fear of the lions, of which there are great numbers in these parts. About seven in the evening the scouts arrived, and brought intelligence that the enemy lay encamped twenty miles off. Twenty of Mascaregn's foot, were so fatigued with the journey, as to be unable to proceed farther; these together with ten of the cavalry, in whom he had no great confidence, he ordered to remain at the mosque. The rest of the foot, according to his direction, mounted behind the horsemen. Blas Sylvio, who led the van, consisting of one hundred horse, pursuant to his orders, marched towards a valley, where part of the enemy

enemy lay encamped. This detachment, however, marching rather with too much precipitation, one in the rear happened to fall from his horse; upon which fifteen more halted to give him assistance. Sylvio and his soldiers, by this time, got quite out of sight; so that they who were left behind, by mistake took a different road towards a hill. Mascaregn followed the track of the last, thinking that Sylvio having heard that the enemy had moved their camp, had for that reason changed his rout. Those who first ascended the hill, having heard a vast noise and shouting in the valley, were at a loss what to think, or how to proceed. One of them, however, being dispatched to Mascaregn, discovered the error, and brought back proper instructions. Mascaregn now understood by many circumstances, that Sylvio was engaged in the valley, and accordingly made all haste to his assistance. Three of the enemy's troops, lay encamped in the valley, and two had pitched their tents on a hill. Mascaregn was afraid lest, when he went to assist Sylvio, the enemy might set upon him in the rear: for which reason he resolved to engage those on the hill; so that, they being conquered, he might then aid Sylvio more securely. Having accordingly charged them with great fury, he killed several, and made seventy prisoners. He ordered all the cattle he took to be killed, lest they might be an obstruction to him in his march. This party of the enemy being thus defeated, Mascaregn proceeded towards the valley, with all possible expedition. He was however, not a little puzzled which way to take to Sylvio, and at the same time, was also obstructed by some of the enemy, who returning from flight, harassed his rear. But the shouts of the engagement in the valley, having reached those who pressed on our people, they immediately desisted, and fled to the assistance of their countrymen. Mascaregn guessed their design, and took likewise the same road. Sylvio had behaved with the utmost intrepidity; he had killed many of the enemy, and carried off a considerable

derable booty from the camp. The Moors, however, having recovered from their panic, and being reinforced by many brave cavalry, rallied, and made a fresh attack on Sylvio. Mascaregn had ordered twenty of his cavalry, and five foot soldiers, with some of the confederate Moors, to advance with the utmost expedition. These, when they came up, found Sylvio and his men surrounded by the enemy: he had only with him sixty horse, the rest, according to his orders, having marched off with the plunder. He himself was grievously wounded in three places, as was likewise Garcia Decio, whose horse was also disabled. Some other persons of distinction having had their horses killed, fought on foot in the utmost danger. John Magellan, son of him whom we have mentioned above, had his foot run through with a spear. Francisco Novio and the quarter master were also most terribly wounded. A servant of Mascaregn attacked a very brave Moor, who was far from declining the combat: they grappled one another with so much eagerness, that neither of the two could use his sword nor spear; and each endeavoured by mere strength of body, to dismount his antagonist; so that both at last fell on the ground locked in each others arms. Several were killed in this action, and in short our people were in the most desperate situation: they fought, however, with amazing intrepidity, being resolved to sell their lives dear.

Thus it was with Sylvio and his men, when Mascaregn came to their relief: his arrival infused fresh courage and spirits into our people, and at the same time not a little dismayed the enemy; for the Moors greatly dreaded Mascaregn: as soon as they knew him, their fury and vigour slackened apace. Mascaregn seeing the way clear, drew off his men in good order. The enemy, however, pressed very furiously on his rear; but our people preserving their ranks, frequently turned upon the Moors, and did them considerable damage, notwithstanding all their menacing fierceness. The country hereabouts was extremely woody, the road
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very narrow, and in several places hemmed in with craggy defiles. The Moors made all possible haste to get possession of these streights. When Mascaregn came thither, he took all proper measures to secure his men on each side. Several of the enemy being killed, the rest thought proper to desist. Mascaregn being now unmolested, took all possible care for the recovery of the wounded; and that they might not be fatigued, he proceeded by slow marches to the river Diucis. The following day, about sun-set, he arrived safely at Saffia, with his prisoners and a considerable booty. Of the enemy there were killed one hundred and fifty only; for our people being greatly fatigued by their journey, did not choose to pursue them. Francisco Novio died of the wound he received. Mascaregn spent six days in this exploit, and struck no small terror into the Moors. They now said they were not safe, neither night nor day, since neither their strong fortifications nor their distance, could secure them from destruction: for there were no difficulties so great, but what a man of Mascaregn's conduct, intrepidity, vigilance, and warlike experience could surmount, in order to harass his enemies. They therefore submitted themselves to Emmanuel, gave hostages, and consented to pay tribute.

But to resume the affairs of India. The following year, Diego Lopez Sequeira, who succeeded Soarez, fitted out a fleet of twenty six ships, to sail for the red sea. There were aboard two thousand Portuguese and one thousand Indians, who sailed from Goa on the month of February. In his absence he left Alexo Monez in the government. He had sent before Antonio Saldagna, with five ships, to Socotora, in order to get intelligence of the enemy's motions. Him he found near cape Guardafu. Here he likewise met with Pedro Vasco Vera, whom Soarez had sent to Emmanuel, who had dispatched him with letters to Sequeira, wherein his majesty ordered him to carry on his expedition with all possible vigour. Sequeira touched

touched at the port of Meta on the Arabian coast, where he watered his fleet, and thence steered for the red sea. In this course thither, the vessel in which he himself was, suffered shipwreck. All the crew were luckily saved, but every thing else was lost. The admiral went aboard Pedro Faria's ship. When he came into the streights of Babelmandel, he met with very tempestuous weather; so that he could not make Jeddo as he intended. With the approbation of his officers, he put in at Mazua, an island almost adjoining to the coast of Arabia, and subject to the Æthiopian prince, who had sent Matthew as ambassador to Emmanuel. The inhabitants being alarmed at the approach of the fleet, fled to a town called Erquico, on the continent. Sequeira's chief design in going to this island was to enquire whether Matthew was really an ambassador, or, as some said, out of spite at Albuquerque, a cheat and impostor. The governor of Erquico, as soon as he heard of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, sent a very civil letter to Sequeira. In this he rendered thanks to the Almighty, that now, by a most happy event, the ancient prediction of their prophets was fulfilled. It had been, it seems, foretold, for ages past, by some holy and inspired men, that at this time, certain Christians separated from this king's dominions by vast tracts of land and immense seas, should come with a fleet to these parts. Sequeira received the messengers with the utmost civility, and decked them with rich garments. He sent a silken standard, on which there was the figure of a red cross, as a present to the governor, who, as soon as he saw it, ran towards the shore, being followed by above two thousand people. All of them, at the sight of the cross, prostrated themselves on the ground, and invoked the name of our Saviour in the utmost ecstasy and fervour of devotion; so that the Portuguese present could not forbear shedding tears of joy. The governor came at last to the shore: thither Sequeira came likewise, accompanied by Matthew, who, was
received

received with universal congratulations, and treated with the highest marks of honour. Sequeira, after having had a conference with the governor, returned to the fleet, together with Matthew. Pedro Homez Tezeira, a lawyer of the utmost justice and integrity, by the admiral's permission, went four miles up the country, to a famous monastery there: Here he was received by the monks in the most affectionate manner. At his return he gave the most surprizing account of the piety and temperance of these men. Upon his asking them, why they did not acknowledge the Romish church, which was held in so much esteem by other Christians? they answered, That they had the utmost veneration for the pope, but that they were hindered from travelling to Rome by the Turks and Arabians, their mortal enemies.

Whilst Sequeira remained at Mazua, he carefully surveyed the island, and water being very scarce there, he built large cisterns to catch the rain. He endeavoured to find out a proper place for a fort, but could not light on any spot convenient for that purpose; and besides, most of the ammunition and cannon, which he had brought to raise a fort, was lost in the late shipwreck. The haven in Mazua was very commodious, but the soil of the place extremely poor and barren. The island was in extent about eight miles. The governor of Erquico immediately dispatched letters to Barnagaze, viceroy in that part of the country, giving him notice of the arrival of our people. As soon as his excellency received this advice, he set out with a numerous retinue to meet Sequeira, who having landed his men, drew them up at a little distance from the shore, and waited the arrival of Barnagaze. The viceroy brought with him two hundred horse, and two thousand foot. These he drew up about a bow-shot from the Portuguese: then he went up to Sequeira, and embraced him in the most affectionate manner. The greatest part of the day was spent in a mutual exchange of friendly offices,

fices, and Barnagaze gave the strongest assurances of his royal master's friendship and protection. A treaty being accordingly concluded with great solemnity, the viceroy went to Erquico, and Sequeira repaired to the fleet. Sometime after he sent to Barnagaze, recommending to him the care of the embassador from Emmanuel to the king of Æthiopia. The viceroy intrusted this affair to the governor of Erquico. Roderigo de Lima, was the person deputed in the room of Duarte Galuan. He was accompanied by a priest named Francisco Alvarez, who published a book concerning this embassy. Matthew, who had now been proved to be no impostor, from the testimony of all his countrymen, went likewise with them: When they had travelled about seventy miles he was taken ill, and died in the monastery of Bifa.

As soon as affairs were properly settled with the Christians in Æthiopia, Sequeira sailed for the island of Dalaza, inhabited by the Arabians, which he laid waste by fire. Hence he steered for Ormus, and having put in at the harbour of Calajate, he there found George Albuquerque, who, according to his orders had sailed to Cape Guardafu, but not finding Sequeira at that place, he directed his course to Ormus. It is not easy to assign the cause why Sequeira did not storm Jeddo. The violence of the weather might obstruct this enterprize, or perhaps he thought the city would be of little service to the Portuguese, or it might be owing to some other reason. This, however, is certain, that the only advantage reaped from so large and expensive a fleet was the discovering the truth of Matthew's embassy, and landing the Portuguese envoy, who was to be conducted to the king of Æthiopia.

Towards the end of August, Sequeira set sail for India. In his course thither he took two Arabian vessels. He then came with his fleet before Dio: according to his instructions, he was to attack this place, but as he found it so strongly garrisoned, and

well supplied with all manner of arms and warlike stores, he therefore thought it improper to attempt the city at this juncture, especially as his fleet was in a shattered condition, and the number of his men greatly impaired by sickness. Melichiaz was at this time absent. Sequeira, however, sent messengers to wait on his son Melichiaz: they were received with great civility and dismissed with presents. He at length reached Cochin, where he found George Britio, who had come this year from Portugal with nine sail of ships. Sequeira, though unfortunate in his late expedition, had lost only two ships, the admiral, and a galley commanded by Jerome Sousa, which perished, together with all the men, excepting eleven, amongst whom was Sousa himself. These got ashore on the Arabian coast, and after having travelled forty miles with great difficulty, at last reached a town subject to the king of Ormus, where the governor received them kindly, and supplied them with money and cloaths. From thence they were safely conducted to Calujate.

This year there was performed an exploit near Ceuta, inconsiderable with regard to the number of men, but great and illustrious, because of the intrepidity with which it was executed. There were two pirates, inhabitants of India, and brothers, who with a couple of large ships had for four years greatly infested the streights of Gibraltar, and the neighbouring coasts of Africa: Gomez Sylvio Vasconcelo was at this time governor of Ceuta. One of the pirates lay in ambush amongst the opposite islands, whilst the other kept out at sea, and gave notice to his brother, when there was occasion for his assistance. Vasconcelo having received intelligence of this, immediately fitted out two small brigantines; one he gave to Andrew Vasconcelo and the other to Michael Sylvio, his two sons. Ceuta stands on a narrow ridge of land which runs out into the sea; so that the city has two harbours, one on the eastern, and the other on the western side. The Brigantines being fitted out in the western haven, the

governor ordered his sons to double the point, and try to surprize the enemy. Michael the youngest, according to his instructions, was first to make the attack. Both were fired with the utmost zeal to execute their father's orders, yet both deviated from his council. The younger failed on in the utmost hurry, and did not choose to wait till his brother came up: the elder, on the other hand, was far from making that expedition which the occasion required: Michael in the most undaunted manner set upon the enemy. They being more numerous, their ship large, their commander of no less experience than boldness, and all their men well skilled in sea affairs, looked with contempt on the brigantine, and immediately boarded her. There ensued a desperate engagement, but our people being at last filled with the utmost consternation, hid themselves in the hold. The governor at this time rode along the coast with a party of horse to observe the fight: and when he saw Michael in such distress, he called aloud, and made signals to his other son to make all haste to the assistance of his brother. But before Andrew could come up, Michael had driven the enemy from his vessel, and disengaged her from the pirate. Having roused his men from their lurking holes, he reproached them for their cowardice, and at length inspired them with courage. He then made another attack on the enemy, and the two ships having grappled each other, the fight was renewed with redoubled fury. The pilot of the brigantine was killed, and his son, together with another relation, suffered also the same fate. Pedro Vieira was likewise desperately wounded. Four of the enemy jumped upon the fore-castle of the Portuguese vessel. Michael however, catching hold of a spear, threw it amongst them with great force: luckily it struck one of the pirate brothers in the throat, and killed him instantly. The other three still remained, but Michael taking up another spear, attacked and drove them over board, and again disentangled himself from

the enemy's ship. Then running towards the stern, to consult the pilot what was proper to be done, he found him and several others dead, and when he looked about for Vieira, a most horrid spectacle presented itself to his eyes: this unhappy man was lying in the utmost agony with his entrails hanging out of his belly. As he was a man of age and experience, Michael asked his advice in the present juncture. 'Go, answered Vieira, 'drive those cowards from their 'holes, who have again hid themselves; and since 'you are left alone, ply your oars with the utmost 'vigour and make off from impending destruction.' He accordingly again brought forth those shameful poltroons from their retreats. But the pirates seeing several of our people killed, some disabled by wounds, and others behaving in such a dastardly manner, renewed the attack on the brigantine. Mean while Andrew Vasconcelo appeared: the sight of him greatly discouraged the enemy, who being likewise tired of fighting, and disheartned with the loss of their commander, sheered off. Michael Sylvio now consulted Vieira, whether he should pursue the enemy. Vieira advised him to make towards the land, and by this means endeavour to drive the pirate on the shelves. He accordingly followed his advice. The enemy being not a little frightened, with all their sails and oars, made towards the opposite shore. Many of them jumped overboard, the greatest part of whom were drowned. Eight swam ashore, and were made prisoners by the governor of Ceuta. Thus before Andrew Vasconcelo came up, his brother had finished the whole affair. This youth is certainly worthy of the highest encomiums, nor do I know which to praise most; his bravery, which was so great that he alone, or with the assistance of a few, and these weakened with wounds, did so nobly withstand such fierce and desperate enemies: or his modesty which would allow him to do nothing without consulting those whom he thought superior to himself in age and experience.

Some days after a party of the enemy appeared near Ceuta. Gomez Sylvio having attacked them, they betook themselves to flight; he followed them a considerable way, till at last he came to a river, which they partly forded and partly swam over. Some of them, however, were killed. But Antonio Pereira, a man of great distinction, having fallen together with his horse, the enemy (who had not all passed over) turned upon him: Michael Sylvio immediately came up to his assistance with five of the cavalry. The enemy wounded him in the thigh with a spear; but his brother together with some others coming up, the Moors then thought proper to make off with the utmost precipitation.



B O O K XII.

THIS year there happened an incident in Africa, which had like to have produced fatal consequences, but being unattended with any misfortune, was the occasion of a deal of laughter. The king of Fez being an active warlike prince, seldom allowed his men to remain in a state of inaction, but made frequent incursions on our people. At this time he ravaged the lands near Tangier, and meeting with no opposition, came before Arzila. There was then in this town a common soldier who had been long sick of a tedious and lingering distemper. The physicians had advised him by way of cure to eat crab-fish. He was a man of an excellent character, and greatly beloved by his fellow-soldiers. And as he complained grievously that he could not get the only remedy for his distemper, twenty of the cavalry offered their service for this purpose, provided John Coutign the governor would give them leave to go out of Arzila. Coutign very readily granted their request: they accordingly set out for a neighbouring river. When they came there, having taken off the bridles and saddles from their horses, they fastened them with halters to some trees on the bank, and fixed their spears in the ground. Then, without the least fear throwing off their arms and cloaths, they jumped into the water. The weather was then extremely hot, and they were likewise very fond of swimming, so that by way of refreshment, as well as diversion, they swam a considerable time, and caught a large quantity of crab-fish. One of the enemy's spies having observed these men at their first setting out, imagined they were a much larger body going

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to lay in ambush in the woods, as it frequently happen'd, to surprize the Moors. He thought these twenty were only a part of the Portuguese van. He therefore went immediately and gave information to the king, who dispatched Hamelix the guide, and the soldier who had observed our men, with two hundred horse to guard the ford, which he thought the Portuguese would pass over. He likewise gave two hundred more to the command of Martin, Abraham's uncle, who had abjured our holy religion (for Abraham was the son of a Christian woman) and ordered him to lie in wait at another part of the river. Hamelix carefully examined all the roads through which he expected our people to pass, and then marched towards the river. However, he did not move with so much secrecy, but he was observed by the spies from Arzila. They therefore immediately fired a cannon to alarm those who had gone out, and all the soldiers in the city were called to arms by sound of trumpet. But the twenty Portuguese were so intent on their diversion, that they did not attend to the signal, though often repeated. The fishing went on successfully, and they were joking and jesting with each other, so that the water echoed with their shouts and laughter. But the enemy coming at last in sight, they then gave over their pastime, and taking hold of their spears, naked as they were mounted their horses without either saddle or bridle, and galloped towards the city. The Moors pursued them, and our men turning upon the enemy, made all the resistance they could, in their present condition: one of the Portuguese in the hurry fell from his horse; Antonio Coutiga, an Arabian, who had embraced the Christian faith, immediately rode up to his assistance: this man having attacked and dismounted one of the enemy who advanced before the rest, then helped up his friend from the ground, and took him behind him on horseback. John Coutiga marched out of the city with some forces to receive them flying; and when he saw them

naked, he was ready to split his sides with laughter: being a man of a jocular disposition, he was extremely merry on the occasion, and made all his men laugh also very heartily. He bestowed the highest encomiums on Antonio Coutign, for his gallant behaviour. 'But left,' said he, 'our fellow soldiers, in this figure, may shock the modesty of their sweet-hearts, let us therefore, for the sake of decency, cover their nakedness before they enter the city.' Accordingly every one pulled off part of his cloaths to supply his naked friends, who being thus equipt, made their entrance into Arzila, amidst the jokes and witticisms of their brother soldiers. When Hamelix related this affair to the king of Fez, his majesty and all present could not contain their laughter. The cloaths, shields, nets, bridles and saddles, together with one horse belonging to our men, were seized as spoil. Thus that mighty prince returned home with this considerable booty. Coutign cloathed the twenty men at his own expence: he gave Antonio a considerable present, and publickly praised him for his gallantry, in order to raise an emulation in others to imitate his example. A few days after, Hamelix, pursuant to the commands of the king, came to Arzila to observe the motions of our people, but was repulsed with loss: at another time he took one of the Portuguese scouts, and carried him before the king. The captive being asked many questions about the state of Arzila, made answer, that the city was well stored with arms and ammunition, defended with a strong garrison of soldiers, and these commanded by a general of the utmost vigilance. The king now despairing of making himself master of the place, dismissed his army, and the Portuguese scout in a few days after was ransomed by the governor.

This year Emmanuel resolved to build a fort at the mouth of the river on which Teutan stands. When king Charles heard of this design, he sent a letter to his Portuguese majesty, earnestly entreating him,

to execute this useful work: For Teutan was at that time a receptacle for pirates, who greatly infested the neighbouring seas. Pedro Mascaregn, being accordingly sent to examine the place, founded the harbour, and brought word, that the situation was extremely convenient for the purpose, there being plenty of spring water, and that a strong fort might be erected there with great ease. But Emmanuel being hindered by other affairs, was obliged to defer the execution of his design to another opportunity.

Mean while, John Coutign and Pedro Mascaregn made an excursion. They marched in great danger, over high mountains, through thick woods, and narrow passes, and having set upon the enemy unawares, at the first attack routed and drove them to flight; and thus returned victorious with their prisoners, and a considerable booty.

Soon after, it happened that Antonia Azevedia, the wife of Diego Soveral, hired a caraval to carry her from Tangier to Arzila: she was accompanied with her two cousins, Diego and Ayres Cælio. There was likewise aboard, one Antonio Grimaldo a fisherman, who, together with some others of the same employment, had been taken by a pirate sloop: this man, however, having jumped into the sea, swam to Tangier, and at his arrival, informed Duarte Menez, that the pirate had sailed for Teutan, as he had indeed imagined. Our people depended on the truth of this intelligence, and the caraval sailed from Tangier sooner than she otherwise would have done. But scarce had she got to sea, when she was attacked by the same sloop, and eight of the pirates immediately boarded her. The Cælios and Grimaldo, boldly engaged them, and having killed four, obliged the other four to quit the vessel. The mariners then directed their course in such a manner, that they soon got ahead of the sloop. But the enemy being informed by those who had boarded the caraval, that she had only three fighting men, and that the rest of the crew con-

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sisted of women and mariners, they now plied their oars with the utmost expedition, and having come up with the Portuguese vessel, they again attacked and grappled her. Sixteen of the pirates sword in hand, immediately boarded the fore-deck. The Cælios made a most gallant defence: Grimaldo having wrapped a frize cloke about his left arm by way of a shield, took up a spear in his right hand, and joined the two brothers. The engagement was more severe than could have been expected from a much greater number. Above one half of the pirates were slain, and the rest obliged to retreat to their sloop. Whilst this rencounter happened in the fore-deck, some others of the enemy had entered the stern, but were repulsed by the sailors. Grimaldo laying hold of the grate with the fire in it, threw it into the pirate: this fired the enemy's sloop, and the ashes blowing in their eyes greatly obstructed their fight. They then moved off to a little distance, and annoyed our people with their darts and arrows. Two Spanish ships happened at that time to be sailing this way: The Spaniards, as soon as they observed the fight, immediately jumped into their long boats, in order to bring assistance to the Portuguese, for their ships being bulky, could not approach. But before they came up, the enemy had sheered off. The Spaniards towed the caraval to their ships, and took all possible care of the wounded, nor did they omit any office of friendship and civility. The wounded, by the orders of Duarte Menez, were conveyed to Tangier, and the Spanish ships being reinforced with men, made for Arzila. The bravery of Grimaldo, a man of mean birth, but endowed with a noble soul, was greatly celebrated: he had received many dangerous wounds in the late engagement.

About the same time, Francisco de Castro governor of the town called C. de Guerre, who had been in Portugal about affairs of importance, returned to Africa. Turoquoquo was, at this time, a wealthy populous town, and flourished with commerce. The people

ple of this city had committed considerable hostilities on the Portuguese garrison at C. de Guere, as well as the confederate Moors. Francisco de Castro drew out his forces, and sent for Xequé Melich, who, had always remained faithful to Emmanuel. Having marched forth in the night, he surprised the enemy by day-break, took their town, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword. He set all the Christian captives at liberty, and made slaves of several of the enemy. Our people slew vast numbers, but not near so many as were destroyed by Xequé Melich's soldiers, who, remembering the damages they had sustained, breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

Whilst these things happened in Africa, Malacca being vigorously besieged and stormed by the king of Bantam, was reduced to the greatest extremity: however, it was luckily relieved by the arrival of Antonio Correa, whom Sequeira had sent to the kingdom of Pegu, with instructions also to touch at Malacca in his way, and if there was occasion, to assist this place. The city being now delivered from its enemies, and abundantly supplied with provisions and warlike stores, Correa proceeded on in his course, and having a fair wind, soon arrived at Martaban, a sea-port in Pegu. This is a large and extensive kingdom, the soil of which is extremely fertile. The country abounds in all sorts of diamonds, and produces also great quantities of gold and silver. The natives are tawney in complexion, and live very elegantly. They are much addicted to luxury, and other destructive vices, which greatly enervate them. They worship false deities, and offer up sacrifice to images. Their priests are held in the highest honours, and they have houses, where religious persons retiring from secular affairs shut themselves up, and spend their time wholly in piety and devotion: there are likewise places of the same nature for their women, who at their entrance bind themselves by solemn vows of perpetual chastity. The manners and customs of this people in many respects

respects resemble those of the Chinese. As soon as Correa came to anchor with his fleet, he dispatched Antonio Pazagna embassador to the king, who resided at Pegu the metropolis of the kingdom. Antonio was received in a very friendly manner by his majesty, who, after returning a short answer, sent with him to Martaban one of the chief priests (who are called Rolines) together with a nobleman of great distinction, and in the highest employment. To these he gave full power of settling a treaty on just and honourable terms. This was accordingly concluded with great solemnity, and Correa having drawn up the articles after the Portuguese manner, delivered them properly sealed to the king of Pegu's envoys. They likewise, according to the custom of their country, ordered the treaty to be engraved on a plate of gold, and presented it to Correa. The Portuguese contracted so great a friendship with this people, that they travelled the country, and went up and down the city without the least apprehension of danger. The wind now blowing from the north, Correa departed for Malacca with five ships loaded with provisions.

Whilst Correa was at Pegu, great disturbances arose in Sumatra, amongst the people of Pacem. A certain ambitious man having formed a conspiracy against the king, killed him and seized the sovereignty. He also put to death twenty five Portuguese, who resided there, whose goods he confiscated, and committed all manner of hostilities against our people. Garcia Sala, who then governed Malacca, fitted out a ship, which he manned with a strong body of soldiers, and furnished with arms and ammunition. Emmanuel Pacheco being appointed commander, was ordered to cruize betwixt the ports of Pacem and Achem, and to watch carefully, that the enemy had no provisions imported, and to hinder their fishing. Pacheco executed his instructions with the utmost vigilance: by this means the people of Pacem were sorely afflicted by famine, for they chiefly subsisted on imported provisions,

vifions, and the fish they caught: but now being deprived of both, they were reduced to the utmost extremity. Pacheco longed much for some fresh water, and for this purpose dispatched a long-boat towards the land, nearer the city. Besides rowers, there were in the boat five men, who being let down into the river fetched up the water. Having got a sufficient quantity, they were making down the river, when of a sudden, great numbers of the enemy flocking to the banks of each side, showered stones and darts, as thick as hail, on the Portuguese, who were in the greatest jeopardy. However, covering themselves with their shields, and pushing on with all vigour, they got clear of the river: but the tide being against them, and the wind failing, three of the enemy's lanchars, as they call them, low-decked, but very long vessels, manned with a great number of common soldiers, as well as several persons of distinction, pursued the long-boat. One Zudamecio, a Javan of distinguished courage, was the chief commander. Our men were resolute, and determined to die rather than suffer themselves to be made slaves; and having invoked the divine aid, prepared for an obstinate resistance: one of the five Portuguese, was a barber, who, being a man of no less intrepidity than strength of body, caught hold of the prow of Zudamecio's ship, which first came up with the long-boat: the other four boarded the lanchar, and he immediately followed; and with such fury did they attack the enemy, that many of their crew jumped overboard. The commander with his drawn sword pushed on his men, and threatened death to those who should give way: but neither his encouraging speeches nor menaces availing any thing, he killed four of them. The enemy were in the utmost consternation: those who resisted were killed by the five Portuguese, whilst those who retired were slain by their commander; so that after the conflict had continued some time, most of them were cut off by the sword or drowned; for so great was their panic, that

that many threw themselves headlong into the sea, as Zudamecio did also, after having received several desperate wounds. There were in this ship above one hundred and fifty men. The other two seeing the fate of the first, were at once struck with fear and amazement. The Portuguese were at this time so much fatigued and weakened with their wounds, that had they been attacked, they would have been unable to make the least resistance; but the same Providence which had armed them with strength and resolution, to perform so surprising an action, hindered the enemy from attacking them in their present condition. The lanchar being towed to Pacheco's ship, was carried to Malacca, where being haled a-shore, a covering was put over her, and she was preserved as a monument of this wonderful and almost incredible exploit.

The enemies of our holy religion saw plainly, that this action surpassed human strength, and struck with conviction, imputed it to a divine influence: nor indeed can it be any other way accounted for, that five men should have the courage to attack one hundred and fifty, and the event to be such, that they killed most of the enemy, and struck such a panic into the rest, that they threw themselves headlong into the sea. To the same cause we must likewise impute it, that the two remaining ships of the enemy, whose men were fresh, dared not to attack five men worn out with fatigue and wounds. From this affair, however, Pacheco might learn to be more sparing of the lives of his men. For it would have been much more laudable in him to have quenched his thirst with water, though unsweet, than, merely to please his taste, to run his men into so much danger. The king of Pacem, filled with amazement at the late exploit, sued for peace, which, after he had given proper satisfaction, was accordingly granted. The names of four of these heroes, were John Almeida, Antonio Pazagna, Antonio

Antonio Vera, and Francisco Gramaxo; the fifth is recorded by no other name but that of the barber.

In the mean while, the king of Bantam was renewing his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour: Antonio Correa being desirous to attack a station of his on the river Muar, and to storm the town of Pado, which this prince had fortified, he communicated his design to Garcia Sala, from whom he obtained a galley, with a pinnace and thirty more small vessels for this expedition: there were aboard one hundred and fifty Portuguese, and four hundred Malaysans. With this force Correa set out for the Muar, the banks of which are covered with a most agreeable verdure, and in many places so shaded with trees on each side, that the light of the sky is entirely shut out: having sailed about twenty miles, he came to a narrow strait. Here the king of Bantam had fixt a station, fortified with a double rampart, and strengthened with a strong garrison of soldiers, to hinder the Portuguese from going to Pado, where he then resided, as being the most convenient place for carrying on his hostile preparations. In the deepest and narrowest part of the strait, the king had built across a strong mole, where his soldiers were placed: in the middle of this work there was a large gate through which the ships from Pado passed, and it was shut every night. This he intended as a bulwark against the Portuguese; his fleet lay within, and he entrusted the care of this station to one of the bravest of his officers. Correa sent before George Mesurado in a small bark, to observe the situation of the enemy. This man, at his return, brought word that their station was strongly garrisoned, and that the general, being apprized of the approach of our people, had encouraged his men to prepare for an engagement. Correa, nevertheless, persisted in his resolution, and about day-break, having attacked the station with the utmost vigour, soon became master of it. Many of the enemy were slain, but the greatest

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part fled to the king in the utmost trepidation. Correa resolved to improve this advantage, before they recovered from their panic, and accordingly having left Duarte Melos at the entrance of the strait, he forced open the gate, and proceeded in his course. The enemy, in order to obstruct his passage, had thrown into the river a great number of trees, which created great labour and fatigue to our people, who could go no further till they had removed all these obstacles. These difficulties, however, being at last surmounted, Correa came before the town. The king marched forth with an army drawn up in battalia, and a considerable number of elephants. Our people, notwithstanding all the opposition they met with, got ashore. A battle ensued, in which the enemy was routed and put to flight. The Portuguese pursued with too much eagerness: Correa therefore sounded a retreat, for being unacquainted with the country, he was afraid the enemy might lay in ambush in secret places, and rushing out from thence surprize his men straggling. The town was plundered and burnt, and above one hundred ships were destroyed. The number of the enemy which fell in this engagement, is not mentioned, but it was certainly very considerable. Correa having been thus successful, returned with a large booty and many captives to Malacca, where he was received with such honour and applause as his high merit deserved. Thence he sailed to Hither India. The king, seeing his army and navy thus destroyed, was quite dispirited. He returned to Bantam, and from that time laid aside all thoughts of war.

In the mean while there happened some disturbances at Couland in Hither India. The Portuguese demanded of the regent queen, that, according to her faith and promise, she would make restitution of the goods which had been taken when Antonio Sala was killed; and that she would likewise pay the quantity of spice agreed upon. Her majesty, though she had at first resolved to adhere to the treaty with the strictest

strictest honour, yet now was so far worked upon by the arts of the Arabians, that she not only refused to fulfill the articles thereof, but also formed a design to take the fort, and destroy our people. This she at first endeavoured to compass by stratagems, but these proving ineffectual, she had recourse to open force. For this purpose she entered into a league, with the queen of Comorin, a kingdom adjoining to Coulan, and bounded by a cape of the same name. The forces of the two queens being united, were intrusted to the command of three brothers, Naires, or nobles of great distinction, and the war was begun in the month of June, which is the height of winter in these parts. The army consisted of twenty thousand men. The enemy killed several Indian Christians inhabitants of the city: they threw poison into the wells, in order to hinder our people from water, and having beset the fort, they stormed it with the utmost vigour. It was defended by twenty five Portuguese only, five of whom were laid up by sickness: these had but a small stock of provisions, and were likewise in great want of powder and ammunition; nor was it an easy matter, considering the rigour of the season, to have supplies from Cochin. Hector Roderigo, however, pitched on a bold undaunted man, whom he sent to Couchin to inform Alexo Menez of his present situation. Menez immediately dispatched his nephew Alphonso Menez with twenty five Portuguese, aboard a ship loaded with provisions and ammunition, who accordingly arrived there safe with this small reinforcement. In the mean while the enemy were carrying on the siege with the utmost vigour, whilst our people repulsed them with amazing fortitude, for they not only plied them with their cannon, but even made frequent sallies, engaged them with their spears and swords. Some of the Portuguese were killed, and many desperately wounded; great numbers of the assailants were likewise slain. The queens seeing they could not carry the fort after a siege of two months,

and hearing at the same time that Alexo Menez was making formidable preparations, they drew off their forces, and desisted from hostilities. Soon after, they sued for peace, which, after proper satisfaction given for the late breach of faith, was accordingly granted.

This year Emmanuel received vast pleasure from the conversation of a most curious and indefatigable person, which not a little incited him to prosecute his great designs. We have related above how the vessel commanded by George Quadra, being separated from Duarte Lemos's fleet, was driven into the port of Zeila, where all the crew being taken prisoners, were carried to the king of Aden, who threw them into prison, where they languished a considerable time, in the most extreme indigence. In the mean while, a neighbouring prince in Arabia, having declared war against this monarch, overthrew him in several battles, stripped him of the greatest part of his kingdom, and set all the prisoners at liberty. By this means Quadra, together with five more Portuguese, (for the rest had died in the utmost misery) were delivered from jail. Quadra being a man of the greatest curiosity, was extremely desirous to visit the neighbouring countries; for this purpose, during his confinement, he had applied himself to the study of the Arabian language, with the utmost diligence. That he might carry on his design with greater safety, he pretended to be an Arabian, and affected the highest shew of zeal for the Mamometan religion. By this mask, which he put on, and wore with the utmost dexterity, he attracted the admiration of every one, and at length insinuated himself into the good graces of the king, and contracted with him the greatest friendship and familiarity. This prince was a man of the most humane disposition, and very much biggoted to the religion of his country. He was not a little pleased with the sanctity of Quadra, whom he found, moreover, to be a person of genius and abilities, and

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was therefore unwilling to part with him. When his majesty went to visit the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca, he took him along with him. When Quadra came there he was informed, that, two days before the king's arrival, a troop of camels had set out for Damascus: he therefore pretended, that he had a strong desire to visit the tombs of Mahomet's grandsons in Persia, to which kingdom the way by Damascus is the most easy and safe, and accordingly entreated the king to allow him to go after the camels. The king being unwilling to lose his company, and at the same time, afraid, that he could not overtake the camels, endeavoured to dissuade him from this resolution. But Quadra having very much importuned his majesty, he not only granted his request, but also supplied him with money, and as much provisions as he could carry.

Having taken leave of the king, he set out on his journey, and travelled through many wild desarts, but could see nothing of the camels, and being unacquainted with the country, he knew not which way to take. His provisions too, in a few days, were consumed, and the sun scorched him intolerably, so that being quite spent with heat and fatigue, he could hardly draw along his legs in the sandy ground. In this extremity, he did not fail to invoke the divine assistance in the most fervent manner. Soon after he came to a sandy hill, which he ascended, and when he was descending the declivity on the other side, he spied a man on a camel. Overjoyed with this sight, he moved on with vast alacrity, and had gone but a little way further, when he perceived another troop of camels making towards the same place to water there. Quadra went up to the men, and having related to them his distressed condition, earnestly implored their assistance. They being touched with pity, especially as they saw him in a religious habit, not only supplied him with victuals, but furnished him also with every other necessary. Under

the guidance of these persons, he travelled through all the deserts, and afterwards, by the assistance of his religious dress, passed unmolested through many of the kingdoms in Arabia, observing every thing with the utmost curiosity and exactness. He came at length into Persia, from whence he was conducted by some Arabian merchants to Ormus, where throwing off the habit and religion of an Arabian, he resumed his Christian garb and profession. Garcia Coutign then governor of Ormus, furnished him with clothes as well as money, and made him many considerable presents. Thence he went to India, where he took ship for Portugal. In the year 1520, he was introduced to Emmanuel, to whom he gave an account of all his travels and observations, in the most distinct and accurate manner. He related how he had examined all Æthiopia above Egypt, and surveyed the lake, whence the Nile takes its source. He gave a particular detail of the manners, laws, and institutions of the Arabian Christians: he described the situation of Egypt, and talked very fully on the customs and manners of the Arabians and Persians. The conversation of Quadra gave the highest satisfaction to Emmanuel, who was thereby the more incited to carry on his grand designs in Arabia and Æthiopia. His majesty having conjectured, that it might be very practicable to pass from the kingdom of Congo, to the head of the Nile, he therefore by large promises solicited Quadra, of himself strongly inclined, to undertake this affair.

The king accordingly sent him with letters to Congo, ordering him to travel to the sources of the Nile, and from thence to David king of Æthiopia. Quadra having reached the port of Congo, was received by the king in the most friendly manner, but could by no means procure a liberty of proceeding further. This was thought to be owing to the malicious arts of some envious Portuguese then residing at Congo,
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who had great influence with the prince. Quadra therefore set out again for Portugal, but at his return, Emmanuel being dead, he entered into the Franciscan order, and spent the remainder of his days in the duties of piety and religion. These particulars we thought proper to mention, that from thence may appear the greatness of Emmanuel's soul: he was always intent on some noble enterprize: by his means so many unknown countries were discovered: but how uncertain are all the schemes of frail mortals, since every moment we are liable to be cut off from our most favourite projects.

About this time the emperor Maximilian died, and there were some disputes in Germany about the succession. Many of the people were for Francis the French king, but there was a much stronger party in favour of Charles. The former by large promises and presents, had drawn many into his interest. But Charles's sovereignty in Hungary, his being educated amongst the Germans, who were well acquainted with his temper and disposition, and his connection with many of the German princes, gave him greatly the advantage over his competitor. He was accordingly invited by letters into Germany, to be crowned emperor. Before his departure from Spain, he summoned a general council of the people, who voluntarily gave him large supplies of money: but notwithstanding their liberality, he, by the advice of William Decrevo Conde di Xebra, his preceptor, imposed on them the heaviest taxes. In this I do not pretend to censure the avarice and rashness of Charles, his youth pleading an excuse, but surely the preceptor was highly to be blamed. A king is not advanced to so high a station, that he may fleece his people by rigorous exactions, but that he may provide for their safety and welfare. He is properly the father of his country: he ought therefore not to squander away the wealth of his kingdom in unnecessary expences, and it is incumbent on him, when requisite, to venture his life in the defence of his

people. It is reasonable, to be sure, that a prince should be supported by the wealth of his subjects, that he may be able to act for their preservation. For by his office, he is intrusted with a multiplicity of the most important affairs. The administration of justice is in his hands: to him it belongs to reward the virtuous, and punish the wicked, and by his vigilance the kingdom is to be guarded against foreign invasions, as well as intestine broils. These things are committed to the management of his wisdom and prudence, and, when there is occasion, he is to have recourse to arms. Now, whoever imagines that such a trust can be executed without vast expence, at once shews his deficiency in understanding, and ignorance of life. It is therefore a prevailing maxim amongst all nations, and enforced by divine, as well as human laws, that a prince ought to be maintained by his people. It is his duty, however, to manage his treasury with the utmost frugality, not to be profuse thereof, unless when it is manifestly for the advantage of his kingdom, nor to amass riches on a few avaritious persons, to enable them to riot in luxury and splendour, whilst the industrious poor are reduced to misery and indigence: a prince, who, by this means, affects a shew of liberality and munificence, will forfeit all pretensions to the more noble qualities of justice and clemency.

The late step of Charles, was not only ungenerous, but also highly impolitic. The kingdom had indeed come to him by lawful inheritance, but being bred and educated in another country, he was quite a stranger to the manners and customs of the Spaniards. He ought therefore, at his first entrance among them, to have endeavoured to ingratiate himself into their affections, and, instead of heightening, rather to have lessened their usual taxes. The young prince, however, may be justly vindicated, since his natural modesty was such, that he allowed himself to be entirely swayed by the advice of his preceptor; but surely the behaviour

viour of this old avaritious tutor, cannot be sufficiently detested. Many of the people, strengthened by some of the nobility, refused to comply with Charles's demand. This spirit, had it been kept within proper bounds, was not to be discommended: but a multitude, hurried on by an immoderate desire of liberty, are generally without moderation, conduct, or prudence: at the beginning of this tumult, Charles had gone into the Low Countries; the number of the seditious increased daily, and many of the cities revolted. The greatest part of the nobility remained in the interest of Charles; some of them, however, fond of popularity, associated themselves with the malecontents. The rebels entered into a resolution, not only to strip Charles of his crown, but also to seize the estates of the nobility, and to form themselves into a free state, after the manner of the Swiss; for they did not consider, that this form of government, which had been of such a long standing amongst the Switzers, could not be kept up amongst a people of so much pride and insolence. This seditious rabble, pushed on by frantick madness, as if they had already gained their point, threatened fire and sword to all who espoused the royal cause. They committed all manner of outrages, and by their rapine and slaughter, spread an universal consternation throughout the kingdom. Antonio Fonseca, having set fire to Metinna de Campo, one of the cities which had revolted, entirely destroyed all the wealth of that opulent place. None at this time were allowed to speak their sentiments; for if any one happened to say, that he thought it was reasonable, that liberty ought to be defended with moderation, but not to the destruction of the prince, such an expression was punished with immediate death: nay, in many places, a sigh was even interpreted as a crime. The nobility, in concert with the cities which remained faithful, finding all other endeavours ineffectual to quell the sedition, began now to prepare for war with the utmost vigour. They likewise sent

embassadors to Emmanuel, earnestly craving his assistance against the rebels. The malecontents finding themselves reduced to great extremity, sent also deputies to his Portuguese majesty. They said, ' They had been oppressed and injured in such a manner, as no men of spirit could tamely put up with; that they would give up their towns and citadels, and their all to his power; earnestly imploring him to take under his protection a kingdom so opulent, and so much attached to his majesty, and that he would assert the cause of a people labouring under so many grievances.' Emmanuel rejected this offer, and told the deputies that they should learn to be loyal to their prince, and to set bounds to their licentiousness. The present dispute, he said, might have been easily adjusted by the good sense and humanity of Charles, had it not been prevented by the mischievous arts of some turbulent leaders, who had pushed them on to the late insurrection. Besides, he bitterly reproaching them, that under a pretence of standing up for liberty, they had basely entered into a combination to overthrow the regal power. However, on condition they would acknowledge their fault, and humbly submit themselves to Charles, he promised to use his interest to procure them pardon and reconciliation. As to the proposal they made him, he replied, that he would not purchase the greatest empire in the world, at the expence of his faith and honour. The ambassadors from the nobility he answered by actions more than words. He supplied them with artillery, ammunition and money. A battle was accordingly fought, the event of which was, that the rebels were entirely defeated, and the chiefs taken prisoners. John Padillia, Antonio bishop of Zamora, Pedro Pimentello, Pedro Maldonado, a few nobility, and some of the scum of the mob, raised to great honours in the late tumults, who had all been principal leaders in the rebellion, suffered death; and a free pardon was given to the common men.

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This year Jehabentaf, by the artifices of some secret enemies, became suspected by Nunez Mascaregn: this being known amongst the Moors, the Dabidians and Garabians revolted, and some of them plundered him. Mascaregn accused him of treachery to Emmanuel. Jehabentaf sent deputies with letters to the king, entreating him to make a fair examination into his conduct, and if found guilty of the least breach of faith, or disloyalty, he said he should think no punishment too great for his perfidy. Emmanuel complied with this reasonable demand, and ordered Mascaregn to countenance the man, and give him all manner of assistance. Jehabentaf having accordingly petitioned for aid against those who had revolted, Mascaregn gave him sixty horse and some foot for that purpose. Encouraged by this reinforcement (for he was willing to shew every one that he was not destitute of Emmanuel's assistance) he led forth his troops, and engaged the enemy. Having gained a compleat victory, he again reduced them to obedience, and thus by his bravery and conduct the late insurrections were entirely quieted.

About the same time, Vasco Ferdinand Cæsar, being on a cruize in the streights of Gibraltar, did the enemy considerable damage. Two of their large ships which had taken many prizes, puffed up by their success, and being well manned, and furnished with plenty of ammunition, sailed against him. Cæsar made towards them with great expedition; the commander of one of the ships seeing him coming up so boldly, was struck with a panic, and having tacked about, altered his course. The captain of the other finding himself left alone, sheered off also, but Cæsar pursued him closely. He plied him very briskly with his cannon, and drove him which way he pleased; and notwithstanding the sea was then exceeding high and stormy, yet he chased the ship till he forced her a-shore. Then getting into his long-boat, he ordered those in the ship to annoy
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the enemy with their darts, till he came to close quarters with them. They endeavoured to get ashore, but Cæsar pursuing them closely, an engagement ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, and the rest betook themselves to flight, but these fell into the hands of Pedro Alvarez Carval, governor of Alcazar Zequar, who being alarmed by the noise of the cannon, took them all prisoners. Cæsar having received his share of the plunder, repaired again to his ship.

A few days after, Cæsar being on the same cruize was set upon by six galleys. The enemy were extremely desirous to destroy this formidable man; and now thinking he could not escape, they set up shouts of joy, and at once poured into his ship a volley of darts, bullets, and all manner of missive weapons. Cæsar, however, kept them off by a continual firing, and by frequently tacking about, baffled all their attempts. He killed several of the enemy, so that their fury began now to slacken apace. Cæsar observing this, attacked the three headmost galleys which kept close together, the others not being able to come up by reason of the wind. The enemy made a stout resistance. Cæsar, however, having ordered one of his largest guns to be fired, the ball brushing along the side of one of the galleys, swept off all her oars: the vessel thus disabled retired under covert of the other two, but being refitted with the utmost expedition, all the three jointly renewed their attack, and endeavoured to surround the Portuguese vessel. Cæsar at this juncture performed the part of a gallant and able officer; he was present in every part of the ship, directing and animating his men to the fight. The cannon being fired with great briskness, did considerable execution amongst the enemy, who found the conflict much more severe than they expected. The greatest part of the rowers in one galley, were destroyed by a cannon shot. The enemy seeing many of their men slain, and two of their vessels in a shattered condition, were now convinced, that they could
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not take the Portuguese ship, without the utmost danger, and therefore quitted the fight. Cæsar being a bold indefatigable man, pursued them: but the enemy having the advantage by their oars, whilst he had only sails, and the wind failing, he could not come up with them. Having been thus successful, he put in at the port of Malaga, to bury his dead, and to have the wounded cured.

In the mean while the Portuguese at Asamor had like to have come into danger by the wicked artifices of Benaduxera, a Moor of great power. He was a man of high distinction, famous for his wealth and renown in Africa. He had under him above fifteen hundred horse, besides a considerable body of foot. He had thrown off his allegiance to the king of Fez, and for that reason was engaged in war with him: but being defeated in a pitched battle, he sent letters to Norhogna, governor of Asamor, offering to come under Emmanuel, and to bear arms against all his majesty's enemies. Norhogna thought the friendship of such a man was not to be despised, and accordingly admitted him into the city, attended with two hundred horse. He bestowed on him the highest marks of honour, and, with the consent of the Xerqian officers, made him chief commander over these Moors. Benaduxer, that he might give the greater proof of his loyalty, sent his brother Feres to Portugal with many considerable presents for Emmanuel, who in the kindest manner received him into his protection. Feres, after having been treated with the highest respect, was dismissed to Africa with the strongest assurances of his majesty's favour and friendship. Emmanuel ordered Melos to assist the two brothers, when they stood in need of his aid, that with their united strength the war might be carried on with greater vigour. Melos accompanied with Feres marched to Asamor with seventy five horse and some foot, and soon after he joined Benaduxer, who brought with him one thousand one hundred and twenty cavalry.

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Their forces being thus united, they marched to the head of the river Diucis, one hundred and twenty miles from Afamor. There they attacked thirty two troops of the enemy's cavalry, of whom they made terrible slaughter, and, after a month's absence, returned to Afamor with four hundred and eighty two prisoners, and an immense booty. Their arrival gave the most unexpressible satisfaction to the people in the city, who, after so long a stay, imagined they had all been destroyed.

Benaduxer, however, being extremely desirous to be reinstated in the king of Fez's favour, by the interest of some friends, procured a promise of reconciliation, on condition he should betray into the hands of that prince, as many as he could of the Christians. In order to carry on his fraudulent scheme, he desired to have Melos along with him, on some pretended expedition: this request, though frequently urged with great importunity, could not be obtained from Norhogna, who began to suspect some treacherous design. He kept his suspicion to himself, thinking it unreasonable to punish a man on a bare surmise, but at the same time, thought it would be highly imprudent to trust a person, whom, by several circumstances, he had reason to imagine was of a fickle and perfidious disposition. However, that he might not give him umbrage, he feigned many plausible excuses. Benaduxer thus baulked of his expectation, and fearing his design might come to light, left Afamor and went to Mazagran, where having waited on Antonio Lacteo governor of the town, he desired that he would supply him with some cavalry, to carry on an enterprize of the utmost importance, telling him that Norhogna, was to send him a considerable body of horse, but that the affair, if executed with expedition, might be accomplished with the utmost facility. Lacteo not in the least suspecting any treachery, gave him fifteen horse and some foot. When Benaduxer had marched about seventy miles with his own forces, together with
those

those which Lacteo had given him, he then communicated his design to his brother, telling him, he wanted greatly to recover the friendship of the king of Fez, choosing rather to be under a prince of the same country and religion, than be subject to a stranger of such different manners and customs. And that he might the more readily regain his affections, he said he intended to deliver up those Christians, whom he had decoyed for that purpose, hoping that by such a service, he might atone for his former injuries to that prince. To which Feres replied, ‘ Had you, ‘ brother,’ said he, ‘ but beheld that prince whom ‘ you are about to betray, charmed with his benign ‘ countenance, you would never have thought of ‘ perpetrating so black a crime. But have you no ‘ regard to faith? Do you set at nought the solemn ‘ ties of treaty? Have you no sense of gratitude for his ‘ experienc’d kindness and unbounded liberality? That ‘ prince received you, nay, heaped favours on you, ‘ when in a forlorn condition, and is this the requi- ‘ tal you are about to make, basely to betray him ‘ without the least provocation? The injury you ‘ have in your power to do is but trifling, but tri- ‘ fling as it is, it will afford a most glaring proof of ‘ your malice and perfidy. For you who can basely ‘ deliver up to slavery fifteen of his brave subjects en- ‘ trusted to your fidelity, would undoubtedly, should ‘ occasion offer, strip Emmanuel of his kingdom and ‘ even of his life, in direct violation of the solemn ‘ oath you have lately taken. Besides, you do not ‘ consider in what a suspicious light you must stand ‘ with your native prince, from whom you have re- ‘ volted, and against whom you have levied war: ‘ in the perpetration of which treason, being worsted, ‘ plundered, and put to flight, you had recourse to ‘ Emmanuel, who pitying your distress, received you ‘ into his protection: but if you prove faithless to ‘ him also, can you imagine the king of Fez will ‘ ever put any confidence in a man who has once and
‘ again

‘ again forfeited his allegiance? It is a received maxim, that though princes may approve of the treason which is conducive to their interest, yet they generally hold the traitor in utter detestation. But if you are determined once more to change sides, and go over to the king of Fez, who is your implacable enemy, and who accounts no ties of honour sacred, surely you ought not to carry along with you any monument of your perfidy. You have at present the standard of Emmanuel, an ensign of his confidence and friendship, which will be a signal mark of your treachery and ingratitude. You carry likewise with you, a magnificent tent, the gift of his Portuguese majesty, which, wherever it is pitched, will also be a memorial of your perfidy. So long too as these men, whom you intend so basely to betray, remain with you, your wickedness cannot be forgot. Imitate rather the practice of the Christians. When a Christian is about to throw off his allegiance to his prince, in order to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, he resigns all the wealth received from his sovereign, that he may not carry any marks of his treachery. Quit that standard then, lest it may proclaim your guilt. Leave your tent; and suffer these Christians to depart unmolested, since, if they remain, they will be living testimonies of your perfidious behaviour.’ Feres having thus spoke his sentiments with great warmth and boldness, not a little exasperated his brother, and they had drawn their swords on each other, but Feres being much the weakest, could not cope with Benaduxer: However, he at last prevailed on him to send back Emmanuel’s standard and tent, and to allow the Portuguese to depart. When the two brothers came to the king of Fez, he ordered them both to be beheaded. He thought it most consistent with his safety to get rid of two such men, who by their power and interest might possibly have raised another insurrection. The reason assigned for this,

was, because Benaduxer had sent back the Christians, together with the standard and tent, and Feres had urged his brother thereto by frequent solicitations.

Whilst these affairs were transacted in Africa, Sequeira was fitting out a large fleet in India to attack Diu, but he kept the design secret. Melich Saca, however, strongly suspected these preparations were against Diu; he therefore, partly to soothe Sequeira into a favourable disposition, and partly to sound his intentions, sent one Camelo to him with considerable presents, and letters full of the most friendly protestations. Sequeira received this man with all the appearance of civility, saying, he had the highest regard for Melich Saca, as well as his father. But Camelo being a shrewd and sharp-sighted man, saw through this dissimulation, and discovered that the fleet was designed against Diu. He therefore wrote to Melich Sacca, and one Aga Mahumed, a man of great distinction, advising them to secure the city with a strong garrison, which they accordingly did with the utmost diligence and expedition. The fleet being fully equipt and manned, Sequeira called a council of his officers, where he communicated to them the expedition he was going upon in pursuance of Emmanuel's instructions, and encouraged them to embark in the enterprize with spirit and resolution. They greatly approved of the design, and every one shewed the utmost alacrity to engage therein. Sequeira had eighty sail of ships: there were aboard three thousand Portuguese, and one thousand Naires, commanded by the most brave and gallant officers. A more numerous and better furnished fleet had never been fitted out by any of our viceroy's in India.

In the beginning of February 1521, Sequeira came with his fleet on the coast of Diu; Melich Saca immediately sent deputies to congratulate him on his arrival. However, by way of precaution, under some specious pretext, he took into custody Ferdinand Martin Evangelo, and the rest of the Portuguese in the city,

city, as hostages. Sequeira pretended that he was obliged to go to Ormus, to settle some commotions there, and that he had occasion for Evangelo and the others, to transact some of Emmanuel's affairs. Melich Sacca and Aga Mahumed replied that our people could not carry on trade, nor be entertained better any where than at Diu; adding, that they were willing to shew, by the utmost civility and complaisance to the Portuguesse, that no city could be more attached to Emmanuel. Sequeira invited Melich to a conference, who accordingly came to the place appointed, accompanied by Aga Mahomed, and attended with a guard. The substance of what Sequeira delivered at this interview, was, 'That he was then sailing for Ormus, to settle the affairs of that state; but in his way thither, as a friend and ally, he thought proper to touch at Diu, to request of Melichiaz the liberty of building a fort, for the greater security of the Portuguesse, who traded in that city.' To this, Sacca made answer, 'That Emmanuel's subjects were no less safe in Diu, than in their native country; but as to building a fort, this he would by no means permit without the orders of his father.' Sequeira then again desired him to deliver up the Portuguesse, to which Sacca replied, 'That such a request reflected the highest dishonour on the people of Diu. Your demanding, said he, those men, who reside amongst friends and allies, to be given up, is a strong mark of your suspicion and diffidence, than which nothing can be at once more injurious and destructive to friendship. And should we comply with your request, at a time when your fleet lies in our harbour, it would be the highest indication of our abject fear and pusillanimity.' This conference accordingly ended in nothing; Sequeira then again summoned a council of his officers: many different opinions were delivered, but it was at last resolved, as the city was at that time so strongly fortified and well garrisoned, to defer the siege till another oppor-

opportunity. It was likewise thought that a regard ought to be had to the safety of the Portuguese in custody.

When this resolution was known amongst the soldiery, they were extremely dissatisfied, nor did they fail to inveigh in the most violent manner against Sequeira and the rest of the officers. They complained, That now the Portuguese spirit seemed to be extinct; that the commanders were intent on gratifying their insatiable avarice, and had no regard to the interest and glory of their country, nor would they give their men any opportunity to exert their courage: in short, by the pusillanimity of the viceroy that a nation, of late so dreaded in the east, was now sinking into contempt. ‘The city (said they) is full of soldiers. But when was this discovery made? Not till the time of action approached; ought not a wise and prudent general to have made proper enquiry concerning the situation of the enemy, before he had proceeded so far in the expedition?’ By his mismanagement the affair was begun with the most precipitate rashness, and this formidable and expensive fleet having come before the city, did nothing: nor can we help imputing it to abject fear, which, in the name of prudence, had taken place of true bravery. Some, however, alledged by way of excuse, that a regard was to be had to the safety of the Portuguese in custody, as if a much greater number must not have fallen in a siege: yet an apprehension of this nature, does not usually deter generals from such attempts. Besides, the persons who argued in this manner, did not consider, that even those in custody, were more likely to be preserved by the bravery than cowardice of our people. For whilst the enemy dread our arms, they will be afraid to hurt our men, but if we once become despicable, they will treat these Portuguese in the most injurious manner. This and such like was the talk of the common soldiery. There was likewise another circumstance which gave room for

suspicion, and greatly irritated their minds. Evangelo, after having given hostages, was permitted to go frequently to the fleet. This man foreseeing the approaching danger, as often as he went aboard, carried with him part of his wealth and valuable effects, and the rest of the Portuguese did the same. Hence a report arose, that all this treasure was sent by Saca to Sequeira, as a bribe for him to drop his design against Diu.

Sequeira thinking it would be to no purpose to make any longer stay, set sail for Ormus. He sent Alexo Menez to Cochin, that he might preside there during his absence. He ordered George Albuquerque to Malacca, George Britto to the Molucco islands, and dispatched Raphael Perestrello to the kingdom of China. He left Diego Ferdinand de Beja, Nunez Ferdinand Macedo, and Emmanuel Macedo on the coast of Diu. These officers were to remain there under an appearance of friendship, and a pretence of buying provisions to send to Cochin, and when an opportunity offered, they were to receive aboard the Portuguese who had been detained, with all their effects, and then declare war against the city. This scheme was easily put in practice; for the men in power at Diu, as soon as the fleet quitted the harbour, set the Portuguese at liberty, and allowed them to go wherever they pleased. Our people likewise surprized some of their ships, which ventured out to sea without the least apprehension. This proceeding however was certainly to be highly blamed: to what purpose now to declare war, when the Portuguese strength was at such a distance, and so little harm could be done the enemy? If the viceroy with so formidable a fleet, despaired of taking the city when slightly fortified, was it not the highest madness and absurdity to venture on such an attempt with so small a force, when the city was so strongly defended? Had the Portuguese attacked it before, they might have carried on the enterprize with more strength, safety,

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and less appearance of injustice. But since so noble an opportunity had been already neglected by Sequeira, it would now have been more prudent to defer the war, till he had returned from Ormus; then under a plausible pretext, he might have attacked Diu less upon its guard, with all his strength and vigour.

About this time the Portuguese establishment at Goa, was threatned with great danger. Sequeira in fitting out and manning so large a fleet, had drained the garrison considerably. This did not escape the knowledge of Zabaim Idalcam, who looking upon it as a fine opportunity to recover Goa, raised a formidable army for that purpose. But Crisnagar king of Narlinga his inveterate enemy, imagined that when he had regained Goa, he would turn his arms against him, therefore resolved to divert him from this design by a vigorous war. Crisnagar had likewise another inducement, which arose from his apprehension, lest, when Zabaim had made himself master of Goa, he might engross all the Persian and Arabian horses. That the war might be carried on with the utmost vigour and diligence, he resolved to take upon himself the management thereof, and to command his army in person. There were accordingly several battles fought with various success. However, the king of Narlinga at last gained a complete victory; he took by storm many cities belonging to Idalcam, and reduced several provinces under his subjection, amongst which were those of Balagata, which yielded a considerable revenue: but Crisnagar being a prince already immensely rich, did not think the possession of these places, was so important as the traffick in horses. In order therefore to ingratiate himself with the Portuguese, he sent a deputy to Roderigo Me os, at that time governor of Goa, offering up the possession of the provinces of Balagata to Emmanuel, whom he said he esteemed as his own brother, and was willing to give him the highest proofs of his friendship and affection. He added moreover, that, as soon

as Sequeira returned from Ormus, he would dispatch embassadors to him in order to conclude a solemn Treaty. In the mean while he desired Melos, without delay, to take possession of the provinces, and to settle garrisons there. Melos was not a little overjoyed at this message from the king of Narsinga, by whose means the Portuguese were saved from impending war, and Emmanuel's revenues were likely to receive a considerable addition. Having returned thanks to the king, and sent him some presents, he set out with two hundred Portuguese cavalry, and seven hundred Indian infantry for Salsat, which he found almost evacuated. Here he staid for a short time, and invited back the people by all possible encouragement: he settled every thing necessary for the government and defence of the country, and at his departure, appointed his nephew Roderigo Jusarte Melos, lieutenant and receiver general of the taxes: and having received intelligence, that the provinces of Pondo and Barda were likewise deserted by their inhabitants, he ordered Jusarte to take possession of them also. About two months afterwards, Jusarte being informed that two of Idalcam's generals were advancing against him with a considerable army, sent advice thereof to his uncle, who immediately marched to his assistance with a large reinforcement. A battle accordingly ensued, in which our people gained a complete victory. Several of those who had joined with the enemy were severely punished, and about one hundred and thirty persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Goa: these were kept as hostages, and soon after a treaty of peace was concluded.

About this time, there happened some disturbances, in the island of Ceylon, chiefly owing to the outrageous behaviour of our people. Lopez Searez, as we have already mentioned, had erected a fort in the port of Columbo: he had been obliged however to build it in the utmost hurry; and there being no mortar, it was composed of mud and stones huddled together

gether without method. Lopez Britto, who succeeded John Sylveire in the command of this fort, ordered it to be pulled down from the foundation, being resolved to rebuild it in a stronger manner. For this purpose, he brought with him four hundred workmen, together with all proper materials. The fort being finished, our people began to behave very haughtily, and seemed to pique themselves on committing insults on the inhabitants. They, in their turn, nettled at such usage, shewed their resentment on every occasion, refused to supply the garrison with provisions, and as often as they found any Portuguese alone, never failed to give him a sound beating. Britto seemed to put up with these injuries received from the inhabitants, and strictly charged his men to refrain from all hostilities. In the mean while, however, he sent to the magistrates in the town, earnestly requesting, that they would keep their people in proper command. But the Portuguese soldiers were unable to contain their indignation: they accused Britto of cowardice and timidity, because he tamely bore such gross insults, and urged him incessantly to bring the inhabitants to a better behaviour, by the most rigorous measures. Britto was greatly averse to war, because he foresaw the dangerous consequences, for the enemy by withholding provisions, might reduce him and the rest of the Portuguese to the most extreme want and indigence: however, being at last overcome by the importunity of his soldiers, he chose rather to gratify their humour, than, by adhering to the rules of prudence, to discharge the duty of his trust: in this we see plainly how difficult, yet how glorious it is to despise false applause, rather than to run headlong on the enemy's swords. We have had many instances of commanders, who, through a fear of popular contempt, have, in direct violation of their own judgment, rushed into the most precipitate danger, and thereby involved their country in great misfortunes. Thence we may conclude, that

he is the truly brave man, who is not only fearless of death, but also sets at nought all the calumnies of a giddy multitude.

Britto therefore, through a fear of falling under the contempt of his ignorant soldiers, run into a real misconduct, for which his inconsiderate rashness is highly blameable. About mid-day, at which time the natives generally repose themselves in their houses, because of the violent heat of the climate, he marched out of the fort with one hundred and fifty Portuguese, and falling on the inhabitants unawares, killed great numbers of them, and put the rest to flight. Those who had fled having recovered themselves from their panic, and recollecting that their wives and children were left in the town in a destitute condition, formed themselves into a body, and marching back, attacked our people with uncommon vigour. The Portuguese, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retire, and about thirty were killed. The slaughter would certainly have been much greater, had it not been prevented by the precaution of Britto, who, to obstruct the enemy's pursuit, ordered the street leading to the fort to be fired.

This affair at Ceylon being rumoured abroad, it not a little raised the indignation of the neighbouring Indians, that such a handful of Portuguese settled in a strange country, should dare, and without the least provocation too, to commit such outrages against a people who had treated them with friendship and hospitality. It was therefore unanimously resolved to avenge such injurious treatment. Above two thousand men assembled to besiege the fort. They accordingly beset the place, dug trenches, raised ramparts, and having planted batteries, kept a continual firing on the fort: in short, the enemy omitted nothing which might enable them to carry their design. The besieged were greatly annoyed by the assailants, but their most grievous distress, was want of provisions. They were besieged for five months, without receiving the least

least reinforcement. The soldiers now felt the dreadful effects of their madness, and too late were sensible, that it is not the part of a soldier to prescribe laws to his commander, but to execute his orders with resolution.

Britto found means to send a dispatch to Cochin, to give notice of his distressed situation. Sequeira had considerably weakened all the garrisons by the numbers of soldiers he had taken to man the fleet in his late expedition. Alexo Monez, however, sent fifty Portuguese in a galley commanded by Antonio Lemos. It being now the winter season, the weather was extremely boisterous, so that it was a considerable time before the vessel reached Columbo. Melos at his arrival told Britto not to expect any other assistance till the return of Sequeira; adding at the same time, that in his opinion the safety of our people in the fort depended on their bravery alone. Britto ordered Melos from his galley to play upon the enemy's works and turrets in the most vigorous manner the whole night. In the morning the assailants being intent upon the galley, and little dreaming of a sally from the fort, Britto rushed forth with three hundred Portuguese, and having attacked the enemy unawares, at the first onset carried the stations and turrets, and put the besiegers to flight in the utmost consternation. The enemy fled in vast numbers to the city, but being reproached by the old warriors, they rallied and advanced again towards our people. In their first line, besides a considerable body of infantry, there were one hundred and fifty horse, and twenty five elephants with turrets. Several of the animals had also swords fastened to their tusks, which they used with amazing dexterity, and did great execution. Some of the Portuguese, frightened at the enemy's numbers, and the sight of the elephants, had like to have given ground. Britto, however, leaving the trenches, advanced to the engagement. He ordered those who were armed with muskets to

make a full discharge on the elephants. These animals startled at the noise, and galled with the wounds they received, turned back on their own people, put the cavalry into disorder, trod down the infantry, and threw all into the most precipitate flight. The Portuguese had now nothing more to do, but to pursue. They made great slaughter, stripped the city of its garrison, and continued the pursuit till they came to a thick wood of palms. Here Britto commanded a retreat to be sounded, for he was afraid to allow his men to advance amongst the trees, lest their ranks might be put into disorder, and the enemy might perhaps turn upon them at this disadvantage. The king seeing most of his nobles cut off in the late conflict, and that the Arabians, the chief instigators of the war, had first quitted the field, resolved therefore to give over hostilities. He saw plainly too, that the more the war was protracted, the greater danger he had to apprehend; for he made no doubt, if things were not brought to a speedy accommodation, that he should soon have a formidable fleet to encounter. He accordingly sued for peace, which the Portuguese (such was their present exigence) very readily granted. A treaty being thus renewed, our people behaved with the utmost civility and moderation to these Islanders, who in their turn were, or appeared to be, no less affable and friendly to the Portuguese.

Whilst these things happened at Ceylon, some designs were formed against our people at Ormus, chiefly occasioned by the excessive benevolence of his Portuguese majesty. The kings of Ormus had formerly been greatly tyrannized over by their ministers: when the city was taken by Albuquerque they were delivered from this oppression: Nevertheless the great officers of state, who had the management of the royal revenues, still continued to embezzle it for their own purposes. Emmanuel being resolved to prevent this abuse, appointed Portuguese secretaries and treasurers, to receive the public taxes, with strict orders to
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convert the whole to the king's use; designing by this means to shew them how egregiously he had been imposed upon, and to convince him how advantageous it was to be under the Portuguese guardianship and protection. Raix Xeraf, and the rest of those fraudulent ministers, were not a little out of humour, to be thus deprived of such immense sums of money, which they used to convey into their own private coffers. They told the king, ' That he retained the empty name of royalty, without the revenues or prerogatives of a prince: that the Portuguese, under the specious pretext of friendship, had seized the sovereignty, and engrossed the whole public treasure into their own hands. It was therefore,' they said, ' better to die a thousand deaths, than to suffer such indignities.' By these and such like repeated insinuations, they worked such an effect on the king, that at last they entirely alienated his affections from the Portuguese, and he entered into their measures against our people. A consultation being held at the king's father-in-law, a bitter enemy to the Christians, it was resolved, after Sequire departed from Ormus, to massacre all the Portuguese, and put a strong garrison in the fort. The execution of the affair was, however, deferred for that time, lest if the conspiracy should have come to light, or miscarried, they might then have laid themselves open to the attacks of Mochrin, who, in conjunction with the Portuguese, would have proved a most formidable enemy.

The island of Baharen (the same perhaps formerly called Ichar) is situated in the Persian gulph, and separated by a narrow channel from Arabia. It belonged originally to the king of Ormus, but Mochrin, son in law to the prince of Mecca, seized it by force of arms. This he not only kept in possession, but also fitted out a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, and often waged war with the king of Ormus. The Ormusians thought it was highly expedient to
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have this adversary removed, before they could perpetrate their black design. In order to accomplish which, they devised a most subtle artifice; no less than to cut off this formidable enemy, by means of those very persons, whom they intended to massacre: For amongst the Mahometans, nothing is esteemed more honourable, than to excel in fraud and stratagem. Having accordingly waited on Sequeira, they bestowed the highest encomiums on Emmanuel, styling him sovereign of Ormus, and as such they said it belonged to him to defend them against all their enemies. Mochrin, they added, had not only ravaged their territories, but also unjustly kept the island of Baharen, whither he partly forced and partly decoyed the ships bound for Ormus. That by this means the king's revenues were so much diminished, that he was unable to pay his tribute to Emmanuel. They therefore earnestly requested of Sequeira, that for the honour and dignity of his royal master, he would curb the insolence of Mochrin, and provide for the safety of a prince, the tributary and ally of Emmanuel; that it might from thence appear evident in what security those lived, who were under the protection of so renowned a monarch. Moreover, they added, that it seemed to them as a particular instance of the divine providence, that Sequeira had come at such a juncture, with so formidable fleet, for there could not be a more proper and convenient time for carrying on the enterprize.

Incited by these speeches, Sequeira resolved to declare war against Mochrin, and having called a council of his officers, this resolution was unanimously approved. He appointed seven ships for the expedition, under the command of Antonio Correa, who had greatly signalized himself in the defeat of the king of Bantam at Malacca. In this fleet there were four hundred Portuguese, chiefly men of nobility and distinction. The king sent also one hundred and fifty pinnaces, with three thousand Arabians commanded by

by Xeraph. The foldiers were armed partly with bucklers and fpears, and partly with crofs bows and fmall mufquets. The veffels were likewise furnifhed with warlike engines, and all other neceffaries. In the voyage a ftorm arifing, feparated the fleet: when the violence of the weather was abated, Correa and John Pereira came with their fhips oppofite to that part of the ifland of Baharem, where the city of the fame name is fituated. It appeared large, adorned with many magnificent buildings, and was very populous, for great numbers of merchants reforted thither on the account of commerce. Mochrin having been apprized of the enemy's intentions, had planted feveral batteries and ftations for the defence of the city, and had likewise taken into his fervice twelve thoufand Arabian mercenaries. Correa came to anchor at fome diftance from the city, and waited for the fleet which arrived about fix days afterwards. Two of the Portuguefe fhips were miffing, one of which had been driven back to Ormus, the other did not make Baharen till after the war was finifhed. Correa immediately landed his forces, and having drawn them up in order, made a vigorous affault on the city; but meeting with a warm reception, was repulfed by the enemy with great bravery. He made another and more furious attack on two of their ftations, when the conflict was renewed with redoubled vigour, and continued a confiderable time. Our people, however, at laft forced their way, and put the enemy to flight, of whom there were killed three hundred foot and thirty horfe. The Portuguefe loft only five of their men, amongft whom was George Pereira. Antony Correa was defperatly wounded, as was likewise his brother Ayres the ftandard-bearer, who was fo weakened with lofs of blood, that he dropt down, and would certainly have been killed by the enemy, had not Alexo Soufa and Rodrigo Correa, men of great gallantry, fpeedily come up to his relief. Thofe in endeavouring to refcue their friend, received many wounds

wounds also. Xeraph was not present at the engagement, for this he thought dangerous; however, he did not choose to remain unactive, but during the action was employed in loading his ships with the booty. Had this man pursued the enemy with all his forces, the slaughter that day would have been very considerable. Correa repaired to the usurper's palace, and took possession of the city in the name of Emmanuel: he bestowed the highest encomiums on his soldiers, and distinguished by marks of honour, those who had most signalized themselves. Having taken the proper oaths of Xeraph, he delivered up the city to him as viceroy from the king of Ormus, on condition he should for ever acknowledge the authority of his Portuguese majesty. Raix Xeraph, having been informed that Mochrin had expired of his wounds three days after the engagement, by permission of Correa, went to the place where his body lay, and cut off the head, designing it as a present, which would be extremely grateful to his royal master. All the enemies ships were destroyed by fire. Hamet Mochrin's nephew, quitted the possession of Elcatif, another city in the island, and with Correa's leave removed to the continent with all his effects. Thus the whole island became again annexed to the crown of Ormus. Correa was now returned to Ormus, where he was received by Sylveire, with all the marks of esteem due to his merit, and had many presents given him by the king.

This year Jehabentaf was treacherously murdered in Africa, when he was about to perform a very great enterprize. He had formed a design to invade the territories of Xerif, and to storm Morocco. For this purpose he desired a reinforcement of Nunez Mascaregn, who gave him only thirty horse and twenty foot, commanded by Roderigo Norhogna. But Francisco Melos, Alphonso de Gomez, John Ferdinand Preto, and Ignato Nunez, after repeated solicitations, obtained leave also to accompany Jehabentaf.

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With these there went likewise twenty more of the cavalry, and five of the foot soldiers. Mascaregn, however, shut the gates to prevent any more from going out. Jehabentaf invited the Dabidian and Garabian Moors to a share in the exploit : these were a people of the most perfidious disposition. They did not much like the danger and fatigue of the expedition, but were afraid to refuse, lest Jehabentaf should turn his arms against them. They therefore obeyed his summons, but were resolved to assassinate him when an opportunity offered.

About this time Nacer king of M. quinez sent a letter to Jehabentaf, informing him that he had again entered into a treaty of peace with his brother Hamet, king of Fez, and being thus united, he said it would be impossible for Jehabentaf to oppose their power ; that they were resolved to destroy him, if he did not perform some exploit, to regain the king of Fez's affection ; if he consulted his safety, he ought therefore to trepan as many as he could of the Christians, and deliver them up to the king of Fez, otherwise his destruction would be inevitable. Jehabentaf did not think this letter worthy of an answer.

In the mean while he received the melancholy news, that the prince of the mountains having attacked a troop of his cavalry, had taken the commanding officer and fifty more prisoners, and had killed Abraham a brother of Azam, a man of great wealth and character. Jehabentaf in a friendly manner, went to comfort Azam, and to be present at the funeral entertainment, which, according to the custom of the country, he was about to give in honour of his deceased brother. Jehabentaf had left all the Christians and his servants in the camp, and had come to that of the Dabidians, attended only with three of his officers. Whilst he sat at the feast without the least apprehension of danger, three of the principal conspirators coming behind, dispatched him by several

veral wounds. Thus died that brave and faithful Moor, a man of untainted honour and fidelity, who to the last had signalized himself for his zeal and loyalty in the service of Emmanuel. The three officers in endeavouring to rescue him, were likewise killed, after having fought very bravely. Oleidambram then attacked Jehabentaf's camp. But Roderigo Norhogna and the rest of the Christians, having joined the Garabian Moors, marched towards the city. Many of these Moors, as they are a fickle, perfidious, time-serving people, proposed to kill the Christians in order to get their arms and horses; but however they were restrained from this villainy by the authority of their commanders.

In the mean while one Allebembrequé, a person of great distinction, who from some pique at Jehabentaf, had espoused the interest of Oleidambram, came to the place where the Portuguese lay encamped, and desired a conference with Norhogna. Whilst they retired to a distance under pretext of holding a private conversation, Allebembrequé's men, as it had been concerted, fell upon our people unawares, many of the Portuguese were killed, and many made slaves, amongst whom was Norhogna himself: a very few escaped; a Moor named Bogima, whose wife and children lived in the city, ran thither with the account of this unhappy affair. Mascaregn led forth one hundred and fifty horse with incredible expedition, and having attacked the camp of those perfidious men, about fifteen miles off, he killed one hundred and fifty of them, took six hundred and fifty prisoners, drove off a considerable number of great and small cattle, and that same day returned to the city crowned with victory, and pleased with the thoughts of having revenged so base an action. That day six of the cavalry, who had escaped from the enemy, came to the city under the conduct of Francisco Melos. The following day sixteen of the foot soldiers,

soldiers, and two of the cavalry, without their horses, also escaped thither.

This year Emmanuel appointed Duarte Monez viceroy of India: he sailed from Lisbon on the 5th of April with a fleet of fifteen ships, with which he arrived in safety at the port of Baticale, where he entered upon his government.

The same year George Albuquerque sailed to Malacca, and George Britto to the Molucco islands. The event of these two expeditions proved extremely different. We will first relate what happened to George Albuquerque. He carried with him the son of the late king of Pacem, who had been barbarously murdered, in order to restore him to the throne. When he came to the harbour of Pacem, the report was immediately spread in the country, that he had brought the young prince: upon which numbers of people came privately aboard the fleet and saluted the royal youth. Gucinal the usurper had received intelligence that the Portuguese viceroy intended to send a fleet against him, in order to drive him from the kingdom; for which reason he had fortified the city with a ditch and rampart; he had erected batteries, and placed several strong stations. Albuquerque sent to him, entreating that he would voluntarily give up what he unjustly possessed, to the lawful successor; on this condition he promised to place him in a much better situation than he had been formerly. Gucinal made answer, ‘ That the kingdom was his just property, ‘ for he had taken it by his bravery from an unlawful usurper. That he was ready to acknowledge ‘ the authority of Emmanuel, and willing to pay ‘ whatever tribute should be imposed. He therefore ‘ conjured and beseeched Albuquerque, that he would ‘ not, in violation of all the laws of equity and justice, ‘ offer hostilities to a lawful prince, who had the ‘ highest affection and esteem for his Portuguese majesty.’

Several

Several messages much to the same purpose passed betwixt Albuquerque and Gucinal, but all proved ineffectual: it was therefore unanimously resolved to storm the city. It happened very luckily that at this juncture Emmanuel Gama arrived in the same harbour, with a ship furnished with all necessaries, from Malacca. The king of Daru, a kingdom adjoining to that of Pacem, was nearly related to the exile prince, and upon his account had waged continual war with the usurper: when he heard that our people intended to storm the city, he immediately levied an army of three thousand soldiers, and marched to assist the Portuguese. Albuquerque thanked him in the most polite manner, but told him that at that juncture he had no occasion for his assistance. He only required him to remain as a spectator, that he might see in what manner the Portuguese would deal with the usurper. But lest after the victory, which he expected by the divine assistance, his forces might be mingled with those of the enemy, and by their resemblance incur danger, he desired him to order his men to wear green branches on their heads, that they might thereby be distinguished from Gucinal's troops. He drew up his army in three lines, the first he gave to Sancha Henrique, the second to Alphonso Monez, the third he reserved for himself; in the first were Emmanuel Gama, Antonio Miranda Azeved, Garcia de Chaign, Hector Valladar, Francisco Bocarro, and some other persons of the most distinguished bravery. Sancha attacked the first station with undaunted boldness: Monez, fired with emulation, went on against the place assigned him with the like intrepidity. Albuquerque came up also with his line, and by his encouraging speeches, spirited them on to the engagement. The fight continued a considerable time, and the dispute was carried on with warlike engines, grenades, and all kind of missive weapons. The enemy from their bulwark greatly annoyed our people,
but

but Dionysio de Melos, Emmanuel Gama, Hector Valladar, and Francisco Bocarro running up to the gate, broke it open, and having forced their entrance, were immediately followed by many more. In this manner the first station was carried. The other being much stronger remained impregnable for a considerable time. This, however, after great danger and fatigue, was at length mastered also by Albuquerque, and those under his command. The conflict was more severe than our people expected: four hundred of Gueinal's friends and domestics, and two thousand of his mercenaries were killed; the usurper himself was slain, and his wives, together with his children were made prisoners. Of two hundred and eighty Portuguese whom Albuquerque brought into the field, only four were missing. He established the young prince on the throne, whom he obliged to take an oath of allegiance to Emmanuel, and having imposed an annual tribute, and left Sancha Henrique governor of the fort, he departed for Malacca, where he arrived with his fleet in safety.

George Britto having sailed with six ships for Sumatra, put in at the port of Dacuem in this island. The king of that city entertained a grudge against our people, ever since Alphonso Albuquerque had stormed Malacca. He therefore used to plunder all the Portuguese, who happened to come into that harbour. Britto having been informed of this, sent a message to the king, telling him he was extremely surprized, when all the rest of the princes in Sumatra were so well affected to the Portuguese, that he alone should despise their friendship, stripping and riving all Emmanuel's subjects who came into his territories: That he earnestly entreated him to desist from these hostilities, and enter into a friendly alliance; and as a proof of this friendship, that he would order restitution to be made of the effects unjustly taken from the Portuguese. The king promised to make a strict enquiry after those who had been guilty of these in-

juries against our people; and that he would give all proper satisfaction. But he was far from performing his promise, and employed himself wholly in strengthening the city. Britto finding himself thus deluded immediately landed his few troops. He attacked and took the station which guarded the harbour. The conflict was begun with spears and swords, without any missile weapons; for those of Britto's men, who were armed with cross bows and musquets, and were according to his orders, to have fought in front, could not get ashore, the wind being against them. The king seeing part of his men driven to flight, was preparing to march to their assistance, with a thousand of his bravest troops all in armour, and six elephants. Britto, however, waited at the bottom for the arrival of the rest of his soldiers: but John Serran the standard-bearer, without the least regard to his commander, immediately advanced to the enemy, who were ascending a hill. Britto called aloud to him to return; but he still persisted in his rashness, and many more immediately hurried after him, with the same precipitation. Britto finding he was unable to restrain them, followed these desperadoes, much against his inclination. Our men made so furious an attack, that they obliged the enemy to fly towards the city; and now thinking they had already gained a complete victory, they pursued them closely, that they might not have time to recover from their panic. But it proved otherwise than they expected; for coming into the city they found the king at the head of a strong body of soldiers; and being few in number, they were quickly surrounded by the multitude. When the Portuguese saw their fate was inevitable, they fought with the most desperate resolution. John Serran was the first who fell. Jasper Ferdinand, a man of great gallantry, attacked one of the elephants with his spear; but the animal taking him in his trunk, tossed him up in the air; so that he fell on the ground, and was trod to death. George Britto, Christopher Pincto, John
Pereira,

Pereira, Francisco Godiz, and many other persons of distinction, were likewise killed. A very few saved themselves by flight. Lorenzo Godin, commander of one of the ships, at last brought ashore his forces in order to join Britto; but when he saw the Portuguese flying, instead of covering them in their retreat, and withstanding the shock of the enemy, he fled in the most shameful manner; so that our people were pursued to the very shore. It was not yet known amongst all the Portuguese, that Britto was slain: but when Lewis de Rapos and Pedro de Villa, men of the most distinguished courage, were informed of his fate, they said that nothing appeared to them more infamous than to survive the death of their commander: they therefore rushed amongst the enemy, and were killed by many wounds, after having made great slaughter. Jasper Gallo, who had the command of the first line, which was armed with musquets, had been detained by boisterous weather and contrary winds: however, when he heard the noise of the cannon, which the enemy from their station fired upon our people, he then ordered all hands to work to ply the oars, and to try with all their vigour if they could push on the vessel. The ship unfortunately run aground on a sand-bank; the sailors with their oars and poles, and by every other method, endeavoured to get her off, but all their efforts proved ineffectual, for they were obliged to wait the return of the tide. All the commanders of the ships were killed, excepting only Gallos and Goddin, who were not present at the engagement; the one had it not in his power to be there, and the other shamefully avoided the danger: seventy of the Portuguese fell in this action; a very few escaped, and these most terribly wounded. Having weighed anchor, they sailed to the port of Pedir, where they found Antonio Britto, whom they unanimously elected chief commander, in place of his deceased brother George Britto. Emmanuel had likewise decreed that, failing George, Antony should be governor of the Molucco islands. Antony having appoint-

ed commanders to the vacant ships, sailed thence to the coast of Pacem, where he found George Albuquerque. They then in company departed for Malacca, where they were received in the most polite manner by Garcia Sala, who resigned the command of the fort to George Albuquerque.

This year, on the month of June, queen Eleanor was delivered of a daughter at Lisbon. The young princess was named Mary, who, when she arrived at the years of maturity, proved a lady of the most refined sentiments, and valuable accomplishments.

Here it may not be improper to relate what happened to Diego Ferdinand de Beja in India. At the time when Antonio Correa had been sent to Baharen by Sequeira, Beja, by his orders sailed for India, with four ships. On the coast of Cambaye, he attacked and took two vessels loaded with provisions, together with a merchant ship, having aboard a rich cargo. The engagement happened at a little distance from the port of Diu, and Melichiaz sent out Haga Mahumed with nineteen large ships to assist his people: but before these came up, the fight was ended, and the greatest part of the enemy slain. Mahumed, however, renewed the engagement with the victorious Portuguese: he sunk one ship, commanded by Jasper Doutel, and most of the crew perished: Beja very narrowly escaped the same fate; Nunez Ferdinand de Macedon was also in the most extreme danger, and lost fourteen of his men. Whilst our people were in this situation, a sudden storm arose, accompanied with such excessive rain, thunder and lightning, that it put an end to the engagement. Beja sailed for Chaul, to rake in a supply of water and provisions, and to repair his disabled ships. Sequeira came likewise to the same place, having been disappointed of his design in building a fort near Diu, for Melichlaz had strongly fortified the place he had pitched upon: Besides, one of his largest ships loaded with materials for that purpose, had been burnt; this was done by some Turks, who
were

were prisoners aboard ; these desperate men preferring death to slavery, struck fire with some nails, and blew up the magazine, by which means the ship and the whole crew was instantly destroyed. Sequeira had formed many other projects ; but he was prevented from putting them into execution by the arrival of Duarte Monez. In the mean while Pedro Sylvio, who had been left at Ormus by Sequeira, was coming to Chaul to transact some business ; but Haga Mahumed having advanced with his fleet, battered Sylvio's ship most furiously, and sunk her. Sylvio, with the greatest part of his men, were swallowed up in the waves, and those who escaped by swimming, were taken prisoners and carried into Diu.

About this time a treaty of marriage was agreed on betwixt Beatrix, Emmanuel's sister, and Charles duke of Savoy. Charles had endeavoured to bring about this affair some years before ; being extremely desirous thereof, from an ambition of making so near an alliance with his Portuguese majesty, and from a violent affection he had contracted for Beatrix, a lady no less famed for her beauty than her good sense and sweet disposition. He had accordingly sent deputies to Emmanuel, who at that time did not consent, though he indeed received the ambassadors with great politeness, telling them, that his sister was rather too young for matrimony. In the mean while he employed some trusty confidants to enquire into the state and extent of Charles's dominions ; and to inform themselves likewise of his life and manners. Emmanuel being satisfied in these particulars, had then no dislike to the marriage. Charles being informed of this, sent ambassadors again into Portugal, when the marriage was agreed upon ; and, according to the articles thereof, a fleet was fitted out at great expence to convoy Beatrix to Nizza : it consisted of eighteen ships, some of which were of a larger size than had been ever seen in Portugal. Martin Albicastro was appointed admiral. Martin Costa archbishop of Lisbon, likewise fitted out another ship at his own ex-

pence, to accompany Beatrix. In this fleet there were several of the first nobility, all dressed in the most rich and magnificent manner: the ships were also gilded and painted with the greatest elegance, and furnished with guns of the most curious workmanship; the nuptials were celebrated at court by public balls, at which were present most of the Portuguese nobility, who all expressed the highest joy on this occasion. The fleet sailed on the 9th of August, and reached the port of Nizza towards the end of September, where Beatrix was received by Charles with the highest marks of affection, and all his nobles and common people shewed no less satisfaction on her arrival.

In the mean while the Portuguese in India employed in building the fort at Chaul, (the first story of which was only finished) were involved in great difficulties: for Haga Mahumed made frequent attacks on the two galleys commanded by Francisco Mendoza and George Monez; he killed several of their men, in sight of Sequeira and Monez, who could not assist their people, because the tide was against them; for that bold and vigilant enemy had seized the opportunity when he knew the Portuguese ships, which were without oars, could not do him any damage.

As the time now approached when Sequeira was obliged to depart for Portugal, he appointed Henry Menez governor of the fort of Chaul, and entrusted the care of the naval affairs to Diego Ferdinand de Beja: he left him three large ships of war, three galleys and one small vessel. Sequeira then weighed anchor and set sail; the weather however, proved so excessive calm, that he could not proceed, but came to anchor near Beja's fleet: Haga Mahumed, who let no opportunity slip of annoying his enemy, sailed out with thirty large ships, and having surrounded the Portuguese fleet, battered them most furiously with his cannon, and eluded all the attempts of our people, by the lightness of his vessels, which were also
rowed

rowed with the greatest dexterity. Sequeira being unable to move for want of wind, fretted with vexation. Beja ordered Andrew Soufa to advance with his galley, to guard the the mouth of the river which runs up the channel, lest the enemy might sail that way, and besiege the fort. But Mahumed having attacked Soufa in the night-time, plied the galley very briskly with his cannon; he killed seven of the Portuguese, and wounded several very desperately, amongst whom was Alexo Soufa, Andrew's brother. Mahumed then brought to his ship, in order to grapple with the galley: but George speedily came up to Soufa's assistance: nevertheless, the enemy with the utmost vigour, endeavoured to take hold of both vessels with his grappling-irons. Beja with his galley, and Francisco Mendoza with four pinnaces immediately advanced to their assistance. When Beja saw that Soufa's galley was so much shattered, and disabled, he ordered her to be towed aside, and then went aboard George Menez's vessel. Our large ships still remained becalmed. Mean while the engagement grew extremely warm. Those in the pinnaces either could not, or dared not withstand the shock of the enemy, and therefore withdrew themselves under covert of the galley's poop; so that the two galleys stood the whole brunt. The one in which Beja was aboard lost her mast, and had both her sides miserably batter'd: Beja acted the part of an excellent commander and a brave soldier, by his own example inciting his men to behave with the like gallantry. As soon as he had missed the pinnaces, running to the poop of his galley he called aloud, ' O ' infamous cowards, can no sense of honour nor ' ties of religion keep you to your duty; and by ' your dastardly behaviour, do you choose to fall a ' sacrifice to a cruel enemy, rather than save your ' selves by your intrepidity?' Whilst he spoke these words, he received a shot in his side, which shivered his coat of mail to pieces, and drove the splinters into

his body. George Menez, who saw him fall, immediately covered the corpse, and carried it aside, lest the knowledge of his death might have struck a damp into the soldiers: those, however, who knew of Beja's unhappy fate, he encouraged not to be dispirited at the loss of one man, but rather to imitate his example, and aspire after the same glory and honour. Menez then performed the part of a wise and gallant commander. Most of the gunners were killed in the engagement, and were succeeded by those who had any experience that way. The rowers being of the Mahometan religion, and disaffected to our people, called aloud to the enemy, in their native language, to grapple the galley, telling them, that all aboard being killed or disabled by wounds, she remained quite defenceless. Menez perceiving the villainy of the rowers, wounded seven of them, which frightened the rest, and forced them to remain in their duty. Haga Mahumed seeing the greatest part of his men slain, and many of his ships miserably battered, was afraid of receiving more damage, and therefore quitted the engagement. Menez, in order to make a shew of victory to those who beheld the fight from the shore, followed the enemy a little way. He ordered the galley, which had withstood the whole shock, to be adorned with several flags, as marks of distinction, and commanded a general discharge to be made of the cannon, which filled the inhabitants with the utmost consternation: and that he might preserve the greater appearance of victory, he lay at anchor, in sight of the enemy, till the evening. Then having weighed he made towards the admiral with the disabled galley, and shewed him the number of his wounded. Sequeira did not choose to depart till the fleet was repaired, and accordingly sent a messenger to Duarte Menez, giving him notice of the condition of our people. The fleet being repaired, he appointed Antonio Correa to manage the naval affairs, till the ar-
rival

rival of Lewis Menez, Duarte's brother, who was named to that office by Emmanuel.

Things being thus settled, Sequeira proceeded for Cochin, to get ready for his voyage to Portugal: but Haga Mahumed fitted out another fleet of thirty six ships of war, and sailed into the harbour of the river Chaul, where he lay in such a manner as to be quite secure from the attacks of our people: seeing Correa again becalmed, he advanced till he came within cannon-shot of his fleet, and began to fire on the Portuguese ships very briskly. Correa having but a small quantity of powder and ammunition, was therefore extremely cautious in the use thereof: Mahumed did not choose to come to close quarters, for this he thought dangerous: our people had erected and fortified two towers, one at the mouth of the river, where there was a guard of soldiers, and the other nearer the city: Mahumed resolved to attack the former, defended only by thirty Portuguese. He sent an officer, named Chilo, with fifteen ships, on this expedition: this man having landed with two hundred soldiers, took possession of a high rock, which commanded the tower. These men accordingly began the attack by land, whilst the ships carried on the assault with great vigour by sea. Our people, though thus threatened with danger on both sides, made a gallant defence. Pedro Vasco Furman commandant of the tower, whilst he repulsed the enemy with the greatest resolution, was killed by a cannon bullet. Simon Ferreira, together with the chief engineer and some others, suffered also the same fate. In the mean while, Correa dispatched Roderigo Vasco Pereira with seventy Portuguese, in two pinnaces, to the assistance of the besieged; these having got ashore attacked those on the eminence, whom they soon put to flight, and having pursued them to the shore killed several. When the engagement had continued for some time, and Mahumed saw great numbers of his men slain, he thought proper to found a retreat.

Correa

Correa being now rid of the enemy's fleet, went to the tower, where he found those dead whom we have mentioned, besides several wounded. The shield of one Pedro de Queiros, was pierced with twenty seven arrows, and there were twenty five fixed in that of Emmanuel Cugna. Several others of the Portuguese gave the most signal proofs of their courage that day. The enemy in their attempt on the tower lost thirty men, besides sixty who were killed on the shore, and some others whom Pereira put to the sword. Those of the enemy who fell in this engagement, were mostly men of nobility, as it appeared from the splendour of their dress and arms. Amongst these was Chilo, who commanded in the attack, and an Æthiopian officer of the most distinguished bravery. Correa ordered the heads of the slain to be cut off, and to be sent to Mahumed. He repaired the tower, and having strengthened it with a stronger garrison, gave the command thereof to Alvarez Britto. In the mean while Lewis Menez arrived, to whom Correa gave up the fleet, and then departed for Cochin. Melichiaz now sued for a peace from Duarte Menez, imputing the late war entirely to Sequeira, and he commanded Mahumed to cease all hostilities.

Whilst these things happened in Hither India, George Albuquerque formed a design to storm Bantam, a strong fortified city. For this purpose having fitted out a large fleet he sailed thither, and having landed his forces, encamped before the city. He had been informed that the enemy's stations and works were extremely low, for which reason he had brought no scaling ladders: but in this he was greatly disappointed, and repulsed with considerable loss. Several of the Portuguese were killed, amongst these George de Melos, who was sailing for the Molucos with Antonio Britto. Many were likewise wounded. The enemy pursued our people, who with the greatest difficulty and danger, at last got aboard their long-boats and pinnaces. Laqueixeman, the enemy's
admiral

admiral, that he might make the greater shew of victory, followed the Portuguese fleet with twenty ships. He killed Simon Egidio, commander of a brigantine, and all his men. Thus this expedition, like others rashly entered into, had a most unhappy event.

Antonio Britto in his way hence to the Moluccos, was driven into the island of Java, where he put in at the port of Agaciam, the people of which were in friendship with the Portuguese. Not far from thence was the island of Madura, famed for its excellent water. He sent his pilot there to get a supply of water; but the inhabitants attacked our people, and took their long-boat; nor would they restore the prisoners, who had indeed been the first aggressors, without a considerable ransom. It being now the winter season, Britto could not proceed to the Moluccos, he therefore wintered at the Hagacim islands. About this same time Xeraf at Ormus was using his utmost endeavours to carry into execution his wicked machinations against our people: for after he had got possession of Baharem, by the assistance and bravery of Correa, he was then so elated, and so fully bent on his villainous design, that forgetting all the ties of honour and gratitude, he employed his whole art and cunning to destroy the Portuguese: but the good disposition of the king towards our people, was some obstruction to his hellish schemes: for his majesty, tho' he had been alienated from the Portuguese, by the malicious insinuations of his father-in-law, yet from the remembrance of their late friendship, had again conceived an esteem and affection for our people. Nevertheless he was at last overcome, partly by the importunity of that villain, and partly by the authority of his father-in-law; and notwithstanding he foresaw the fatal consequences of such a heinous treachery, yet he assented to the measures of these abandoned miscreants. On the night appointed for the perpetration of their wicked design, they forced into
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the houses where the Portuguese resided, fired several of the houses, and massacred above sixty of our people when asleep. Garcia Coutign commandant of the fortresses, had previous notice of this conspiracy. But so great was the remissness and negligence of this man at such a dangerous juncture, that he even omitted laying in a store of provisions in the fort to withstand a siege. That night however, he assigned the officers their proper stations, he disposed his cannon in a proper manner, and ranged his men in order to receive our people retreating from the city, and to repulse the assailants. The Portuguese made a sally from the fort, and attacked a considerable body of the Arabians, killed several of them, and brought off many of our people, who had escaped the cruelty of the conspirators: but in their return to the fort, they fell in amongst a number of the enemy, who had blocked up the passages leading thereto. A severe conflict ensued; the enemy being spurred on by their inveteracy against the Portuguese, who, in their turn, were stimulated by despair and indignation, the former were elated by their numbers, whilst the latter, relying entirely on their bravery, fought with the utmost intrepidity. Our people having at last forced a passage sword in hand, for they had no other means of safety, made such an impression on the enemy, that they broke through their ranks, and after a considerable slaughter gained the fort: all of them, however, amounting to forty, were wounded. Coutign that night sent an express to the viceroy, with an account of this affair, and as he was in great want of materials to build turrets, he gave orders that a ship which lay at anchor, should be unloaded and broke up, and the timber carried to the fort: this was accordingly effected, though not without great danger, and some blood on both sides, for several of the Arabians who attempted to obstruct the work were killed, as were likewise a few of the Portuguese; amongst
these

these was Vasco Vieira, a man of great courage, who had highly signalized himself in this action.

About this same time Emmanuel Soufa de Tavara, who had been cruizing in the Persian gulph, was driven into the port of Mascata by stress of weather. Trifan Vasco Veiga, put in likewise at this place from Calajate. The governor informed them of the insurrection at Ormus, and the outrages committed against our people. He likewise signified to them that he had received a letter from the king of Ormus, to whom most of the cities on that coast were subject, ordering him to kill all the Portuguese in Mascata. After the departure of Veira, the same orders had also been sent to the governor of Calajate, who, pursuant to his instructions, killed all he could of the Portuguese. But the governor of Mascata, being a man of age and experience, foresaw, that such a deed would produce fatal consequences, and therefore abstained from this cruelty.

Veiga was a man without moderation in his conduct, and dissolute in his life and morals; yet of such undaunted courage, that he feared no danger, inso-much that many people did not scruple to call him a rash and precipitate madman. He happened at this time to have some quarrel with Soufa, for which reason he left him, and being accompanied only with thirty Portuguese departed for Ormus. He forced his way through the enemy's fleet, amidst a continual firing, and showers of missive weapons poured on all sides; and having fought with such astonishing intrepidity, as seemed to surpass all human strength, he at last reached the fort. The amazing boldness of this exploit struck a terror into the enemy, and gave great spirits to the besieged. Emmanuel Soufa with his fleet, had now reached the island of Queixom, within sight of the fort. Coutign having been informed by Veiga, that Soufa had but a few ships, and these not sufficiently manned, earnestly entreated him to lay aside his resentment, and rejoin Soufa.

Veiga

Veiga was prevailed upon, and though wounded again, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and informed Soufa of the present condition of the fortrefs. As soon as the tide favoured, they failed against the enemy: an engagement accordingly ensued, which was fought on both sides with the utmost obstinacy. The enemy had ten ships sunk, and many of their men killed and wounded. Our people lost only one man, tho' about eighty were wounded; and their fleet, notwithstanding all efforts of the enemy, reached the citadel.

Xeraf now finding that, by the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, he was unable to carry on the siege by sea, therefore resolved to employ his whole vigour to storm the fort by land. By the advice of one Mirabdelic, a Turk of great experience in war, he erected a station on the top of the king's palace; and another on the Portuguese hospital nearer the fort. From thence the enemy played their cannon very briskly, and considerably annoyed our people. Coutign dispatched Emmanuel Vetulo, and Roderigo Varelsa, with forty men to attack this station. These accordingly assailed it with great fury, and having demolished the wall, forced their entrance and killed many of the enemy: only two of the Portuguese fell, but all of them were wounded. The station being thus carried, Coutign ordered all the cannon found there to be brought to the fort. Xeraf now planted one of the largest guns in the lower part of the palace; this being frequently discharged, at last shivered to pieces the gates of the fortrefs. Coutign then threw up several ramparts, and having placed a cannon on the top of a temple opposite to the palace, he entrusted it to the care of a most expert engineer; this man pointed it so exactly, that at the first shot, he entirely demolished the large gun which had done so much damage to the fort. The enemy, though alarmed at this accident, yet persevered in their resolution: our people being at this time sorely afflicted with

with thirst and famine, some of the common men deserted to the enemy, and informed him of the distress of the besieged. When Xerif received this intelligence, he resolved to apply the scaling ladders, and carry on the attack with all possible vigour, for he imagined the Portuguese could not have spirits to hold out longer, when they were at once pinched by thirst and hunger. Coutign being apprized of Xerif's intentions by an Arabian deserter, ordered large beams to be suspended on the walls, and others to be fixed on these cross-ways in niches: he likewise placed in readiness several vessels filled with gun-powder, and a considerable quantity of large stones: the enemy came on with vast boldness, and having applied their ladders, attempted to scale the fort, every one endeavouring to climb up with great emulation: but the Portuguese letting fall the beams, broke the ladders; they likewise tumbled down great numbers of stones; so that they made considerable havock amongst the enemy, who rushed on in crowds to the attack. Xerif thought proper to call off his men from the assault, and commanded them at a proper distance to keep a continual firing on the fort. He likewise ordered an engine for discharging darts and stones to be erected on the palace; this in all probability would have done considerable damage to our people, but it luckily happened that the enemy had not one person amongst them who could use it properly. Xerif at last ordered a wall to be built of such a height, that he might from thence command the fort, and clear the battlements of the Portuguese. Our people, however, by Coutign's directions, having planted a couple of cannon, played them so furiously on this new work of the enemy, that they soon made a large cleft in the wall, and battered it down in several places. The Portuguese soon after held up their shields fixed on poles with niches, that they might make an appearance of a numerous body of armed men. They likewise

likewise led up dances, and made other demonstrations of joy, that the enemy might from thence imagine they had received a reinforcement. The following night Coutign sent Emmanuel Vitulo and Roderigo Varella with some vessels full of combustibles. They accordingly advanced with the utmost silence, and they placed these vessels within the enemy's work, and from thence to the fort they laid a train of powder. As soon as they entered the fort, they set fire to the train, which instantly communicated itself to the vessels, and blew up the enemy's station within the wall. The flames reached the palace, which was quickly consumed, as was likewise a great part of the town, for the wind that night was extremely high and boisterous. This disaster perfectly damped the king as well as Xeraf's spirits: being now convinced that all their efforts would be ineffectual, and imagining our people had received a reinforcement, they abandoned the city and passed over to an opposite island, in the utmost perturbation. Our people immediately exerted themselves to extinguish the fire, and they carried a great quantity of all sorts of provisions, together with a supply of water from the city into the fort. After the king had settled in the island of Queixson, he sent a letter to Coutign: in this he expressed the utmost sorrow for his behaviour, laid all the blame on Xeraf, and begged peace of Coutign in the most suppliant manner.

In the mean while Gundissalvo Coutign, brother of Garcia Coutign, pursuant to the orders of Duarte Menez, came to Ormus from India, with a strong reinforcement. His arrival struck a terror into the enemy, and infused fresh spirits into our people, who now, as if peace had been already restored, began to behave to their enemies in the most civil manner. Xeraf, however, was resolved to persist in his perfidiousness; for when he understood his majesty had sent a letter to Garcia Coutign, he employed one Zamir,
a man

a man of distinction and much in the royal favour, to strangle the king, which was accordingly put in execution by that villain. Xeraf now raised to the throne one Patxa Mahemetxa, son of king Zafardim who reigned at the time when Albuquerque first came to Ormus. Patxa being thus indebted to Xeraf for his crown, went into all his schemes, and stuck at nothing to promote his wicked measures.

In Africa, this year, John Coutign, at the head of two hundred horse, again marched towards Alcazar-Quivir, using, however, the utmost precaution, by sending out scouts to examine the roads through which he was to pass. He at length reached Tintanes, four miles from Alcazar-Quivir. There he fell upon a body of the enemy unawares, killed several of their men, took fifty prisoners, and carried off above two thousand cattle. The governor of Alcazar-Quivir followed him with three hundred horse and two hundred foot. Coutign marched slow, though with the utmost caution, for he had strengthened the rear of his army in such a manner, as to render it secure against any assault. Having crossed the river, he drew out his forces, and offered battle, but the enemy were afraid to attempt the river; in their sight having rested and refreshed his men, he then proceeded for Arzila, which he entered with all his plunder, to the great joy of the inhabitants, for Africa as well as Spain, was at this time sorely afflicted with famine.

Hamet Laroz governor of Alcazar Quivir being moved with indignation, that Coutign with so small a force, at such a distance from Arzila, and so near Alcazar-Quivir, should have killed such a number of Moors, and carried off so considerable a booty, was therefore resolved to wipe off this indignity by some gallant exploit. He accordingly marched for Arzila with four hundred horse: it happened to be a dark and rainy day; so that he approached the place without being discovered. Some of the Portuguese, free from all apprehension of danger, happened to be

foraging without the city. These, as soon as they perceived the enemy, clapped spurs to their horses, and riding into the city with all possible speed, gave the alarm. Coutign having given the signal, immediately collected his forces, and marched out to meet the enemy. In the Portuguese van, commanded by Ferdinand Mascaregn, there was one Alvaro Nunez, son to the master of the king's household, a youth of vast spirit and liberality, who was generally surrounded with a number of flatterers. Some of these at this juncture, bid him embrace the present opportunity of displaying his courage. 'Allow not any one,' said they, 'to snatch from you the glory of this day, rush into the thickest of the enemy; we are ready to follow you.' Alvaro, elated with these words, and fired by heat of youth, pushed on his horse. Mascaregn endeavoured to recall him, but in vain; for the youth ascribed this to an envious jealousy, and therefore pressed forward with redoubled speed, that he might be the first in the engagement. He, together with twenty more who followed him, accordingly attacked the enemy's van with so much fury, that they were forced to give ground: but Laroz having immediately sent up a reinforcement, these rash youths were quickly overpowered by numbers. Alvaro was desperately wounded, and four others were killed on the spot: the enemy pursued the rest flying, till they came in sight of Coutign, when they turned their backs, and retreated with great precipitation. Coutign found Alvaro still alive, whom he endeavoured to recover by all possible means, and ordered him to be conveyed to the city; but in the way thither, this brave though rash youth expired. Coutign dispatched Mascaregn with forty horse to attack the enemy's rear guard; he accordingly came up with a few of the enemy, whom he routed at the first onset, and took one prisoner: from him he learnt, that Laroz was at the head of the troops: he accordingly sent notice thereof to Coutign, who was overjoyed

Joyed at this news, being extremely desirous to have an engagement with a man of so great renown. Laro-
roz too had often expressed himself no less fond of
such a rencounter: but as he perceived Coutign so
resolutely bent thereon, he thought proper at this
time to decline the engagement. Coutign followed
the enemy for some space, but the sun being now
set, he gave over the pursuit, and having taken five
persons of distinction prisoners, he returned to the city
with his army. None of the Portuguese fell in this
affair, excepting those five above-mentioned, whom
their own rashness had hurried headlong to de-
struction.

About this same time, Henry Menez, brother of
Duarte, a man of a learned education, was gover-
nor of Tangier, and made many successful excu-
sions. Having received intelligence from his scouts,
that the commandant of Teutan intended to invade
the lands near Tangier, and offer him battle, he
marched out with his forces, and waited three days
at a place where he expected the enemy. On the
fourth he returned to the city, and all his men had
dismounted, when of a sudden the governor of Teu-
tan appeared at the head of his army. The signal
being given, Menez attacked and routed the enemy:
in the pursuit, which lasted till night, he killed se-
veral and took many prisoners, and would have done
more considerable damage to the enemy, had not the
darkness favoured their escape. This was accounted
to be a very extraordinary victory; for the governor
of Teutan was a man of great bravery, and brought
with him an army much more formidable than that
of Menez: and it was somewhat surprizing that a
person who had spent the greatest part of his life
in the study of philosophy and divinity, should have
shewn himself so excellent a warrior.

In the mean while, Vasco Ferdinand Cæsar was
cruizing in the streights of Gibraltar, which he kept
clear of all enemies, not by his strength, which was

inconsiderable, but by his gallant behaviour. Having been informed by the master of a small galley, that four ships had taken a Portuguese vessel, and carried her off tied to the stern of the commodore, he sailed in quest of them, and at last descried them behind the mountain Calpe: and as he saw the flag-ship separated from the rest, he made towards her, and having hailed those aboard, asked them whence they were? They were English, but they made him no answer, and threatened him with immediate destruction, if he did not instantly strike to their flag. Cæsar being unused to act in so submissive a manner, refused to comply, and accordingly made ready for an engagement. The guns were fired with equal briskness on both sides. During the heat of the fight, those in the Portuguese vessel which had been taken, cut the cables, and disengaged themselves, without being perceived by the English. Cæsar lost seven of his men, and had many grievously wounded by the splinters of their shields, shivered to pieces by the enemy's cannon. There was aboard Cæsar's ship a German, equally remarkable for his courage and strength of body. He had received fifteen wounds, and lost a vast quantity of blood. Cæsar advised him to quit the fight, to have his wounds bound up. 'No,' answered he, 'I will either die, or force the enemy to strike.' Then raising up one of the guns on his shoulder, he ordered one of his companions to fire it off: which being accordingly repeated several times, it demolished the enemy's rigging, and carried off part of the mast; so that the English were filled with the utmost consternation. Another German was no less successful, the direction of his gun was so exact, that the ball coming in at the head of the ship, killed several on the deck, and carried off part of the stern. The English ship having twenty of their men killed, and many more wounded, now thought proper to strike, as did likewise the other ships, which by contrary winds, were hindered from
being

being present at the engagement. Cæsar now sent a long-boat, to ask the reason why the English had taken the Portuguese ship? They answered, that they had only carried her along with them in order to preserve her from the attacks of the Moorish pirates, who infested those seas. Cæsar allowed the English to depart, and they put into Cadez for refreshment. He himself sailed to Ceuta. Emmanuel this year fitted out a large fleet under the command of Simon Cugna, and Tristan his son, who were to scour those seas of pyrates.

This year there was such an excessive drought in the northern parts of Africa, that the corn was quite parched up, and many of the people were cut off by famine. Great numbers of the Moors pressed by this calamity, sent to Emmanuel, telling him they were desirous to embrace the Christian faith, and willing to become slaves to those who would instruct them in the mysteries of our holy religion. The king very readily assented to this proposal; for so great was his zeal for Christianity, that under pretence of propagating it, he was very liable to be imposed upon. It is certain the Moors, under a pretext of religion, wanted only to supply their necessities; and it was highly probable that, as soon as an opportunity offered, they would make no scruple to violate their pretended faith by the basest actions. It seemed therefore highly imprudent and dangerous, to admit such inveterate enemies as it were into the bosom of our country. Besides, a report prevailed that the plague was in Africa, and people were apprehensive that it might be brought into Portugal. Moreover, the Portuguese themselves were at this time in great want of provisions, for at the beginning of the year they had likewise had the most excessive drought, and in the months of May and April, such immoderate rains had fallen, as entirely rotted the young corn. When therefore the Moors

offered to be slaves for their maintenance, not one of the Portuguese would accept of their service; so that great numbers of them perished by famine, in the most miserable manner.

This year five Venetian galleys came into the harbour of Lisbon, under the command of Alexander de Pizoria, a nobleman of great distinction in that republic. He was sent envoy to Emmanuel, to make proposals about the Indian-spices to be consigned to the Venetians, for a certain sum to be paid his Portuguese majesty. The king received Alexander in the most polite manner, loaded him with many considerable presents, and granted his request in every particular, except that about the spices.

Towards the end of this year, Emmanuel, now at the height of glory, wealth and renown, and in outward appearance, strong and vigorous in his constitution, was seized with a sudden fit of illness, which having continued nine days, carried him off on the 13th of December, in the 53d year of his age, after a reign of twenty six years, one month and fifteen days. In the last hours of his life he gave the highest proofs of his piety and devotion. After having made his will, he gave up his thoughts entirely to futurity, and bore his approaching fate with the utmost resignation and alacrity. In the most fervent manner he joined with the holy men who attended him, in offering up prayers for his eternal welfare, and repeated many passages from the holy scriptures, with all the marks of rapture and devotion. His body was deposited in the church of Bethlehem, which he himself had founded. The funeral was graced with the appearance of all the nobility and men of distinction, who expressed the deepest sorrow on this occasion.

If we can with propriety say, there is any happiness in human affairs, Emmanuel was certainly happy in his life and reign. Though descended of the royal blood, yet at one time he could have but
little

little hopes of the crown; however, all those who preceded him by age and consanguinity, having dropt of by various mischances, the throne devolved to him unexpectedly. That Ormuz, part of Arabia, India bounded by the two rivers, and several countries in the east beyond the Ganges, were added to the Portuguese dominions, must be ascribed to the honour of Emmanuel: for in nothing is the greatness of a prince more conspicuous, than in the employing of able persons, and stirring them up to noble exploits. A king, if worthy to be called so, breathes into his subject a spirit of emulation, inspires them with fortitude to encounter dangers, and by his generous encouragement, inflames them with a thirst after glory and reputation. As the bravery, dexterity, and alacrity in a soldiery, must be ascribed to the vigilance and assiduity of their commanders who have trained them up, so likewise the praises of the generals themselves for their exploits, in a great measure belong to their princes, who have excited them to such noble performances by their royal favour and encouragement. Kings therefore are intitled to the glory of such achievements, for two reasons; first, because they raised that heroic spirit in those illustrious personages; and secondly, because they knew how to make a proper use of such high merit. As an indolent effeminate nobility reflects dishonour on their sovereign, so likewise a race of illustrious nobles, adds greatly to his lustre and dignity: for the prince is as it were the fountain-head, from whence vice or virtue flows amongst the people.

The assiduity then and indefatigable industry of Vasco de Gama, in discovering the eastern passage; the intrepidity of Duarte Pacheco, in curbing the insolent Zamorin; the many signal victories of Francisco Almeida; the exploits of the great and illustrious Albuquerque, whose fame and renown may be compared with that of the most eminent heroes of antiquity; all this I say must be imputed to John

the second and Emmanuel, to whom it was owing that these heroes embarked in such noble enterprises. We may affirm the same with regard to the exploits of Mascaregn, Coutign, and many more illustrious personages, whose heroic deeds are to be ascribed to Emmanuel. Nor do I make any doubt that, if his majesty had marched in person into Africa, he would have reduced all the Moors under his subjection. But he was diverted from this design, partly by some unlucky events, and partly by the advice of some timorous counsellors. However, the many cities taken in Africa by his authority, and the number of forts built there by his orders, are incontestable proofs of his detestation of the Mahometan religion, and of his violent desire to destroy that vile sect. His success was extraordinary; but this we must not impute to fortune, as the bulk of mankind are apt to do, but ascribe it intirely to the divine goodness, which so evidently manifested itself in all his undertakings.

He was a prince of the utmost moderation and temperance, benevolent in his disposition, mild and humane in his behaviour: his temper was naturally grave, though at the same time mixed with an agreeable sweetness and affability. He was easy of access, and most indefatigable in the administration of justice, and managing the affairs of his kingdom. He generally rose before day-light, and after having performed divine worship, he spent the remainder of his time in hearing petitions, and settling the affairs of his government. In conversation he was highly agreeable, and extremely facetious. He was a prince of the most extensive liberality; he made handsome provisions for all his domesticks; he was no less careful of all employed in his service, either by sea or land: and those who distinguished themselves by their gallantry, he not only honoured with praises, but also bestowed on them the highest instances of bounty
and

and liberality. He was no less conspicuous for charity, for he often relieved the poor from his own private income. He bestowed also several rich endowments on the monasteries and nunneries. He was extremely strict in the punishment of crimes and misdemeanours, though at the same time, in his natural disposition, he was rather inclined to lenity than severity. He was a great lover of music, though not to such a degree as to take him off from his state-affairs. He kept several musicians in his palace, who performed every day on various instruments, yet amidst this agreeable amusement, he dispatched all manner of business with his ministers and governors. He was extremely elegant in his living, and his table was generally furnished with the most exquisite dishes, yet as to his own eating he was remarkably temperate. He always abstained from wine, and kept the public fasts with the utmost strictness. He was a great patron of learning, and with the highest pleasure and curiosity enquired into the laws, customs and history of different nations. When he dined in public, the entertainment of his table consisted more in useful and agreeable conversation, than luxurious dishes: for his guests were generally men of learning, and those who had travelled into foreign countries; with such persons he discoursed in the most open and agreeable manner. At his leisure hours, he used to unbend his mind in manly diversions, such as tennis, hunting, and horse races. But what was very extraordinary in him is, that he never spent a day in such amusements, in which he did not at the same time transact some business with his ministers: for if he happened to be hunting in the woods, even there some one or other was ready to present him with a petition, or to offer somewhat in regard to the public: or if he was pleasuring in his yacht by water, yet he had always some of his ministers aboard, with whom he settled some affairs relating

lating to the state. In his reign poverty seemed to be driven into exile, and sorrow banished: no murmuring or discontent was to be heard, but joyful mirth prevailed every where. There were frequent balls at court, graced with the appearance of the nobility of both sexes, amongst whom there reigned the utmost harmony and honourable love, without any shameful and criminal intrigues. Nor was any one admitted into the good graces of the ladies, who had not signalized himself by some great exploit in war. And the young nobility were not allowed to assume their rank at court till they had passed over into Africa, and performed some act of gallantry. Such were the nobility in the reign of Emmanuel, at whose expence several youths were bred up in the palace, who afterwards became great and illustrious men. Emmanuel revived several religious orders; he curbed their licentiousness, and restored the ancient strictness and sanctity. He likewise built several religious houses, and repaired others running to ruins. He had the utmost detestation of the Mahometan religion, and was desirous to extirpate it; for this reason he carried on the wars in Africa and Asia with so much vigour. His zeal for religion, however, though great, yet did not hinder him from the execution of his secular affairs. Nor did his vigilance and assiduity in settling the constitution, manners, and laws of his kingdom, hinder him from carrying on his warlike schemes with the greatest application. And at the same time that he fitted out fleets for Africa, and the eastern regions, and sent garrisons to various places, he was no less diligent in the administration of justice, hearing petitions, and punishing crimes. He was, however, a prince of such an easiness of temper, as to be unable to withstand the importunities of designing courtiers. Hence it was that many were allowed to seize endowments which had been appropriated

to religious uses. To this pliancy in his disposition it was likewise owing, that he deferred his resolution of going over to Africa, till at last an unexpected death cut him off from all his projects. Thus, like all mortals, he had some imperfections, but certainly a prince endowed with so many great and noble qualifications, is worthy of immortal praise and honour.



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Edwards, London

Bot. 11/25/47 Fr.

2 vols. \$28.47

